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America

National Catholic Weekly Review

Vol. 104 No. 12 December 17, 1960 Whole Number 2689

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Correspondence

Banish UN

EDITOR: In the Oct. 1 issue, your editorial "Move the United Nations?" refers to the 13 African tribes recently admitted to the UN for voting purposes as "nations." This is slightly on the "slanted side." Some time ago the UN was foisted on us by some very clever propaganda and has been a yoke around our necks and a threat to our sovereignty ever since, involving us in the terrible losses of the Korean war.

It is the writer's considered opinion that if left to a national plebiscite, the UN would be ejected forthwith, without reference to what it likes or dislikes, by a huge majority.

That money subscribed for the purchase of Catholic literature by the laity should be used to further any Catholic ordained editor's personal political views passeth all that was heretofore considered as proper abstention of the clergy from politics, national or international.

The editorial referred to was not the first "plug" for the UN in your editorial column.

JOHN PATRICK BREEN

Rosindale, Mass.

[And, in view of letters like this, it isn't likely to be the last.—Ed.]

Who's Smoking?

EDITOR: "Only one Catholic priest spoke out publicly"—and he against Kennedy, writes Stuart Lansdowne in your Nov. 19

Washington Front. Whom are you kidding? You must regularly receive at least as many of the nation's Catholic periodicals as we do. And we presume you have checked your figures at least as "scientifically" as we did.

According to our reckoning, the over-all lineage in a representative cross section of American Catholic publications between July and November, 1960 was at a ratio of no less than 100 to 10 in favor of Kennedy over Nixon—not to mention generous picture coverage of Jack, Jacqueline, Caroline, Mamma, Brother Bob, etc., etc.

And, if you don't know, you need only check the *Catholic Press Directory* to learn for yourself that the overwhelming number of the publications in question are edited and/or managed and/or owned by prelates, priests or religious associations headed up by prelates and/or priests.

Is AMERICA afraid or ashamed of these facts, that it tries so hard to hide them under a smoke screen of tongue-in-cheek verbiage?

ALPHONSE J. MATT

Business Manager, *The Wanderer*
St. Paul, Minn.

EDITOR: Stuart Lansdowne in the Nov. 19 Washington Front says that a priest wrote an article for the Washington newsletter, *Human Events*. If memory serves me, Fr. Juniper Carol, O.F.M., indicted President-elect Kennedy for everything except Nestorianism in an article written originally for *The Wanderer* and then reprinted by

Human Events. If I'm wrong, just pitch this in the circular file.

Mr. Lansdowne mentioned *The Wanderer* as having encouraged the Catholic bloc in Minnesota to vote for Nixon. I think it was also responsible for making Fr. Carol well-known for something besides Mariology.

WILLIAM M. D'ARCY, O.F.M.CONV.
Syracuse, N.Y.

How Many Didn't Vote?

EDITOR: I want to thank Porter R. Chandler for stressing (AM. 12/10, p. 358) the difficulty of getting micrometer-precise estimates on disfranchised voters.

The *Congressional Quarterly* (Aug. 26, 1960) is my source for 8 million disfranchised mobile voters. (Remember, in some cities you can lose your vote by moving around the corner to a new precinct.) The *U.S. News and World Report* (Nov. 9, 1956) provides the 5 million sick and 2.6 million travelers for business and other reasons. My estimate of 1.75 million Negroes in 11 Southern States, legally or illegally prevented from voting, is a projection based on the findings of the Civil Rights Commission. This is probably a bit conservative; for the *Congressional Quarterly* puts the number barred by poll taxes and social pressures as high as 4 million. The 800,000 illiterates is another modest figure which I've trimmed to allow for overlapping categories. Citizen voters abroad (500,000) I got from the American Council of Residents Abroad. Adult prison population (215,000) came from the *World Almanac*.

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Current Comment

Persecution in the Sudan

If the Sudan's 400,000 Christians were to have second thoughts about the benefits supposedly derived from independence, we would hardly blame them.

In the interests of unity (or rather uniformity, which is something quite different), Christians in the Sudan, a predominantly Muslim country, are suffering a steady, strangling persecution. Nothing like it has been witnessed outside Communist-controlled countries.

The vast majority of Sudanese Catholics live in the southern region of the country. Their churches remain open. Nevertheless, since 1957 the government has seized all Christian schools. By expelling 21 missionaries and refusing entry visas, it has kept the number of priests far below what the growing Christian community needs. Catholics, both clergy and laity, are constantly spied upon, harried, restricted and defamed. They are summoned before officials to give explanations of perfectly normal actions. On the distorted word of the spy who lurks in every Sunday congregation, a priest may be arrested or expelled.

Moreover, there appear to be two standards of justice in Sudanese courts. A Muslim protest against government policies usually draws a reprimand and a fine. For the same type of offense a Christian is likely to be charged with sedition—a crime punishable by death or imprisonment.

In view of these facts, two questions arise: Is this the price minorities must pay for hard-won national independence? Are only Sudanese Muslims entitled to the benefits of freedom? As taxpayers whose money is being funneled into the Sudan in the form of foreign aid, Americans have a right to the answers.

Toward Religious Unity

Recent events on both sides of the Atlantic gave heart to those who pray for unity among all Christians. The more dramatic, and potentially more significant, was a visit to Pope John

XXIII by Archbishop Geoffrey F. Fisher, Primate of the Anglican Church. Two days later (Dec. 4), in San Francisco, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Stated Clerk of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., suggested that Presbyterians and Episcopalians invite the Methodist Church and the United Church of Christ to form "a plan of church union both catholic and reformed."

Great care had been exercised on all sides to forestall false hopes about the outcome of the Vatican meeting. Both Dr. Fisher and Pope John made it clear, however, that their hour-long conversation took place in "a happy spirit of cordiality and sympathy such as befitted a notable event in the history of church relations." No responsible observer looked for more than an improvement in atmosphere from this first encounter. But the visit clearly yielded this result.

From the American Protestant community, Dr. Blake, in a sermon delivered at Grace Cathedral (Episcopal) during the triennial general assembly of the National Council of Churches, asked for a surrender of the "luxury" of their historic divisions. Fully recognizing the obstacles ahead, the Presbyterian leader outlined a series of moves designed "simply to cut the Gordian knot of hundreds of years of controversy."

Here again, none but the foolhardy will underestimate the difficulties to be overcome before such a plan can be accomplished. What no one should belittle, however, is the evidence both events furnish of new winds blowing in the direction of understanding and confidence among all Christians.

Hungary: Soviet Colony

"Colonialism is not yet dead," was the anguished cry of Soviet delegate Valerian A. Zorin as the UN began its much heralded debate on the most explosive issue of the current General Assembly.

"You are so right," might have been the reply of Sir Leslie Munro as he gave his second annual report to the UN on the Hungarian question on Dec. 2.

Sir Leslie, appointed two years ago to seek enforcement of UN resolutions on Hungary, still finds that the USSR and its puppet regime in Budapest refuse to deal with him or even allow him entrance to that tortured land.

According to Sir Leslie, four years after the abortive revolution, Hungary is still under the outright domination of Russian troops. Respected leaders are still in prison. Special courts still dispense "justice" by political norms. The people are denied the right of choosing those who govern them. The western border is now sealed off by "permanent" wire-and-concrete barriers that have been recently erected.

Sen. John F. Kennedy, in his message for Pulaski Day, Oct. 11, said: "It should be one of the very first responsibilities of the next President . . . to announce to the world a specific course of action to aid the restoration of freedom in Poland and the captive nations."

Hungary is one of those captive nations which have been forced into the ruthless clutch of the Soviet Union's expanding colonial empire, and there is none whose plight is more poignant. Let us hope that Senator Kennedy will not forget his recent remarks after he sets out for his New Frontier on Jan. 20.

Neither should the example of Hungary be overlooked by those emerging nations to which Khrushchev is extending the hand of disinterested fellowship. His perfunctory weeping over the evils of colonialism is no more than an attempt to sweep them into the Soviet orbit on a flood tide of crocodile tears.

Ribaldry and Leadership

Editors, if they are willing to take stands on touchy subjects, must be ready to receive letters like the following, postmarked New Orleans:

Judas: I read your lying article on the fair Police of New Orleans. I wonder what you would have said if it were niggers that they ran down with motorcycles and horses and beat up with clubs. Did you tell your readers of the poor white woman at the feet of the chief [sic] begging for help. May you rot in hell for your lies. [Signed]

More representative of New Orleans, we believe, is the three-column appeal of the Josephite Fathers, in the *Times Picayune* for Nov. 30, 1960. This nobly

Christian, deeply American document reads (in part):

NEW ORLEANS IS CONSIDERED A CATHOLIC CITY. IN THE PAGES OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PUBLICATIONS WE HAVE BECOME A CITY OF VIOLENCE, HATRED AND DISOBEDIENCE. YOU CAN CHANGE THIS IF YOU HAVE THE COURAGE TO STAND WITH CHRIST—THE COURAGE TO PRACTICE LOVE AND TOLERANCE.

The Negro Catholics have never failed in tolerance, in patience and in loyalty to their Church. In the interest of peace, they have, in a Christ-like manner, borne with discrimination in job opportunities, in schools and in almost every aspect of their lives. Patiently they awaited the day when their human dignity would be recognized.

NOW THAT THEIR DAY OF HOPE IS DAWNING, THEY LOOK TO THEIR WHITE CATHOLIC BROTHERS TO BE EQUALLY DEDICATED TO THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES TOWARD PEACE: TO SNATCH THE LEADERSHIP FROM HATEMONGERS, TO STAND FIRM FOR TOLERANCE, TO RESPECT OUR COUNTRY'S COURTS.

Evading Responsibility

As we noted editorially last week, the Bishops' Committee which guides the work of the National Legion of Decency has expressed grave concern over a "national crisis" caused by the increasing production of morally objectionable films in this country.

The Motion Picture Association of America promptly contradicted the Bishops' Committee statement point for point. There is no "national crisis," it asserted. Hollywood has not made a "bold and unprecedented" departure from previously accepted moral standards. The Production Code Administration is not "presently ineffective." The industry indeed is gratified that three out of four of its films meet even the "stringent standards" of the Legion of Decency.

The existence of a national crisis is a point that could be debated endlessly and fruitlessly. One might of course remark that the American Medical Association would hardly make it a matter of self-congratulation that three out of four patients get well. But the real defect of the MPAA statement is that it simply ignores the concrete and prac-

tical proposals made by the Bishops' Committee.

The bishops made it plain that their chief complaint is that reputedly "adult" films are in fact shown mainly to impressionable youth. As they have said before, they prefer "self-regulation on the part of the industry with minimal legal controls." That means in the concrete "a system of self-classification of films by the industry," and observance of that classification by the exhibitors.

There is the heart of the matter. The bishops urge the industry to adopt an effective classification system so that films harmful to the young will not be shown to them. The industry resoundingly assures us that all is well and— heaven help us!—nothing need be done.

Boon of Population

Birth-control enthusiasts who view the world "population explosion" with apprehension would do well to examine an article by Colin Clark in the December issue of *Fortune*. Morality aside, writes the noted British economist, population limitation is "bad economics and bad politics." He cites several examples to show "that population growth . . . is often the only stimulus powerful enough to shake men out of their established ways and customs, and make them seek something better."

It was population pressure that forced Britain to abandon its 18th-century, easygoing agricultural ways and become one of the world's great industrial powers. The same is true of the 16th-century Dutch, who were the first people of Europe to feel the pressures of population on a limited land area. It spurred them on to becoming the world's greatest maritime power. Dutchmen ranged from New York to Cape Town and Jakarta, importing most of their food supplies from the proceeds of their shipping and commerce.

Japan has learned the lesson of British industrialization well. Since 1885, while population has increased 134 per cent, food supplies have jumped 300 per cent and net national product 780 per cent. In terms of dollars, per capita food supply has risen from \$96 in 1885 to \$572 in 1958.

India now faces the same challenge. It is a challenge which, Mr. Clark feels, can be met. If India, for example, would only seek to achieve the same rice yield

per acre as Japan, the country could feed four times the people it feeds now. If, on the other hand, family limitation should remove the population pressure (an unlikely event), then most of the stimulus to economic development would be removed with it. There is, in short, a connection between economic vigor and a rising population.

Battle of Titans

For several years to come, much of our deterrent and "second-strike" nuclear power must rest in the fixed and "hardened" Titan bases which the Air Force intends to deploy around the United States. Some of these rocket sites will literally encircle such population centers as Denver, Omaha, Spokane and Tucson.

Some city fathers and businessmen jump at the chance of making their home town the rookery of these lethal birds. They reflect that every Titan silo is a multimillion-dollar construction job. They think of the service payrolls. No wonder they regard a projected Titan base as an economic windfall.

Other sober citizens take a dimmer view of seeing their fair city ringed with Titan launching sites that *must* have the highest priority on any Soviet schedule of nuclear attack. Take Tucson, Ariz., for example, where the Air Force plans 18 Titan sites, some of them upwind from the city. In a nuclear war Tucson would be the bull's-eye for a hundred-megaton attack. That is bad enough. What is worse is that missiles aimed at Titan silos on the westerly side of the town would deposit such fallout from the prevailing winds that practically nobody would survive.

Since Tucsonians do not wish to be considered expendable, it is easy to see why many of them are asking why the Air Force, if it has excellent reasons for siting its Titans near Tucson, cannot at least move them to a desert area east of the city, where the fallout peril would be much less.

On second thought, therefore, it seems that having a Titan base near home is a mixed blessing. The economic boom is possibly no more than a fringe benefit of nuclear annihilation. Who will be anxious to move to Wichita or Topeka, or even stay there, if these cities are to be written off as radiological deathtraps?

According to a July 1 report of the House Military Operations Subcommittee, Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, Air Force vice chief of staff, testified early in 1960 that in the selection of sites for ICBM's in this country "due regard" was given to the danger such sites would pose for the civilian population. But this subcommittee added: "There is no indication whatever that civil defense considerations have ever influenced the location or relocation of any missile site to minimize the fallout danger."

... Air Force Policy

We are aware that the Air Force must take many factors into account in siting its Titans: existing military facilities, construction costs, geological features, etc. We are also aware that civil defense seems almost a forgotten cause in the United States. But we do not for these reasons regard cities or citizens as expendable. Neither do we relish the suspicion that small centers of population may be sacrificed as "megaton magnets" in order to draw enemy fire from larger ones.

Some irate people in Tucson would like to see a Congressional investigation of the "entire Air Force fixed-base ICBM policy." For our part, we would like to see the Air Force make a clear public statement on why it is a "national necessity" to turn any sizable population center into an inevitable target for Soviet rockets.

Postal Red Ink

One of the reasons President Eisenhower's budget for fiscal 1961 looked so good last January was the absence of a \$600-million item for the cost of running the Post Office Department. The Administration justified this book-keeping by assuming that Congress would respond to its pleas to raise postal rates. As might easily have been predicted, Congress did no such thing. On the contrary, it added \$240 million to the Post Office deficit by voting, over a Presidential veto, a pay increase for postal workers. According to the most recent estimate, the Post Office Department will end the 1961 fiscal year next June 30 approximately \$890 million in the red.

With a new Administration preparing to take over in January, this bit of cur-

rent history is worth bearing in mind. The budget for fiscal 1962 will be prepared by the Eisenhower Administration. Unless the President and his fiscal advisers have had a change of heart, they will again submit a budget which ignores the postal deficit. They will once more assume that Congress will hike postal rates to the point where the Post Office will pay its own way.

For President-elect Kennedy and his newly designated Budget Director, Harvard economist David E. Bell, this will raise an immediate problem. They must quickly decide either to press Congress for an increase in postal rates, or else resign themselves to adding nearly a billion dollars to Mr. Eisenhower's spending estimates. Up till now, Mr. Kennedy has not committed himself on the postal-rate issue. We don't know whether he believes that the postal service should be subsidized or made to pay for itself. He won't have long to make up his mind.

Ike Buys American

Totting up the results of its curbs on dependents of servicemen overseas and its redirection of spending by U.S. agencies abroad, the Administration hopes to cut the deficit in our international transactions by approximately a billion dollars. (For the past three calendar years, including 1960, the deficit has run in excess of \$3.5 billion annually.)

One-half the expected saving in foreign exchange will be realized by keeping servicemen's dependents at home. About a third will be accounted for by last week's order directing the International Cooperation Administration—our chief foreign-aid agency—to shift four-fifths of its overseas procurement to the United States.

The ICA directive was aimed at purchases in 18 countries which the Administration now deems sufficiently prosperous to walk without an American crutch. Chiefly affected will be Japan, West Germany, Britain, France, Italy and Belgium. Together these countries account for \$400 million of the \$510 million ICA has been annually spending abroad. Since, however, the directive calls for an "orderly cessation" of buying and allows for exceptions—if, for instance, ICA has procured machinery in Japan, it will be permitted to buy replacement parts there—some Govern-

ment officials put the annual dollar saving at no more than \$200 million.

It should be noted that the ICA directive is aimed exclusively at bringing the outflow of dollars closer in balance with the inflow. Far from lightening the burden of foreign aid and the weight of taxes on the American people, the redirection of ICA spending may add as much as \$100 million to the mutual-security bill. By buying abroad, ICA has been saving the taxpayers' good money.

... Booming Exports

Meanwhile there was excellent news on the income side of the bulky balance-of-payments ledger. Commercial exports during October, according to the U.S. Department of Commerce, soared seven per cent over the already healthy September level. This brought total exports for the first ten months of the year to \$16.2 billion—a big, reassuring jump of 20 per cent over the same period last year.

By the looks of things now, exports this year may equal the record of \$20.6 billion set in 1957, when the Suez Canal crisis artificially ballooned U.S. oil shipments to Western Europe. Since imports have been running about the same as last year's \$15 billion, the prospect is for a trade surplus in excess of \$5 billion.

Several factors have contributed to the spurt in exports—government encouragement to exporters, more enterprise on the part of businessmen, easing of tariffs and quotas on American goods and, most of all, the high level of prosperity in Western Europe.

It is now clear that all the scary talk last year about the pricing of U.S. goods out of world markets—which this Review did not abet—was grossly exaggerated. Panic over our competitive position is no less to be avoided than complacency over production costs. We can start worrying the day foreign governments remove the many remaining barriers to the entry of U.S. goods.

Letters to Two Editors

Two letters-to-the-editor that came to our attention recently provide an instructive commentary on life in a pluralist society.

Just before Election Day, the librar-

ian of a public high school in Arkansas requested immediate cancellation of her school's subscription to AMERICA. Her letter to us put it this way:

When we received our first copies . . . I got my first indication that it was published by a Roman Catholic organization. Since I feel that public school funds should not be spent for religious material, I am returning the copies. . . .

While we adjusted to the news from Arkansas, one of our sister weeklies, the *Nation*, headed into similar trouble. Its Dec. 3 issue carried a letter from yet another high school librarian, this time from "a large city, predominantly Roman Catholic."

For years, it seems, the writer had fought to keep that periodical on her school's subscription list. Her reason was that its "articles on Catholicism [presumably such "impartial" critiques of Catholic belief as those by Paul Blanshard in its issues between November, 1947 and June, 1948] . . . were a valuable contribution to our democratic freedom."

Alas, now even the *Nation* had betrayed its trust by endorsing a Catholic for President. This smacked of aid to "an institution of restriction and coer-

cion, . . . a powerful, potential divisive force." Hence she wished to enter a "small but ethical protest" by no longer subscribing.

Two cancellations don't make a trend. But they do point up difficulties our public schools must face in acquainting pupils with the full range of American culture—including its religions. In the present instance, we know of nothing to recommend the *Nation* as a reliable guide to Church doctrine or practice. On the other hand, no one could ever mistake it for a press agent of the Vatican. We take note of the letters in question, therefore, merely because they pose questions worth considering.

Catholicism Comes of Age

The year 1960 has been different from 1928 in subtle as well as obvious ways. Rev. W. H. Kenney, S.J., assistant professor of philosophy at Xavier University, Cincinnati, brings out one unnoticed difference in a study he has made of the *New Republic* in 1928 and in 1960.

That liberal journal of opinion gave as vigorous support to Alfred E. Smith as later to John F. Kennedy. But in

1928, the *New Republic* largely ignored the "Catholic issue." Apart from one editorial, a book review and two letters to the editor, it published nothing on the subject.

Very different was the treatment of the religious question in 1960. The *New Republic* on March 21 carried a symposium, "Catholics in America," among three well-disposed and fair-minded non-Catholics, John C. Bennett, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and Jaroslav Pelikan.

Several *New Republic* editorials subsequently defended the compatibility of a Catholic's faith with the duties of the Presidency. Harold W. Chase, on Sept. 26, analyzed the records of Catholic Supreme Court Justices, and found them unblemished by religious prejudice. On Oct. 17 Reinhold Niebuhr's "Catholic and State" again presented a fair-minded view.

The *New Republic* also carried an apparently deliberate selection of book reviews which helped to clarify the Catholic position. This change in the treatment of the "Catholic issue" between 1928 and 1960 is a significant development in the liberal secular mind. In its own way it marks Catholicism's coming of age in American society.

A McCorry Checklist

Our cheery and indefatigable collaborator, Vincent P. McCorry, S.J., will doubtless flinch when he sees this item, and especially when he spots the title. "A McCorry Checklist" does sound as though we were subjecting him to some sort of investigation or at the least (and a much worst least) exposing him to the researches of Ph.D. candidates. I disclaim either insinuation, though it must honestly be said, as the reviewer of his *Monsignor Connolly of St. Gregory's Parish* stated recently in our columns (9/17/60, p. 665), that sections of that story seem to betray an uncanny knowledge of horse-racing.

This item has been occasioned by several requests for a listing of his books. Those who read his column "The Word" (which has been gracing our pages since May, 1953) will not be surprised to learn that there is a demand for his other writings as well. The notable combination of deftness and profundity that hallmarks those weekly columns makes Fr. McCorry a unique writer on spiritual topics.

Those qualities are no less evident in his larger works, three of which are in fact collections from "The Word" columns. These books are *Cleanse My*

Heart and *And Cleanse My Lips* (both published by Newman at \$2.20), and *Everyman's St. Paul* (to be published in February by Farrar, Straus & Cudahy); this last will include "The Word" columns on the saint's epistles, plus new matter to cover all the major feasts and a long introduction on St. Paul.

Two other books are also published by Newman: *Most Worthy of All Praise* (\$2; these are conferences to nuns) and *More Blessed Than Kings* (\$3; essays on minor characters in the Gospels). *Monsignor Connolly of St. Gregory's Parish* consists of sketches of parish life. It is published by Dodd, Mead at \$3.50. Two of Fr. McCorry's books are unfortunately out of print: *As We Ought*, essays for priests and religious, and *Those Terrible Teens*, which contains sound and witty advice for young girls. This second volume in particular ought to get a hearty welcome if it is reissued.

In seven years, Fr. McCorry has contributed approximately 350 reflections on "The Word" to AMERICA. His industry alone sets some kind of record, but an even more amazing record lies in the unflagging freshness of approach he has maintained to ancient truths. HAROLD C. GARDINER

Washington Front

Loyalty Down

GEN. GEORGE S. PATTON JR. commented in his book, *War As I Knew It*, that "loyalty down is fully as important as loyalty up, and a lot more rare."

When Wilber M. Brucker became Secretary of the Army in 1955, the Army was in a state very close to demoralization. Each Federal budget brought new and more drastic reductions in force.

Secretary Brucker brought neither flaming sword nor ringing phrases. He had, in fact, a manner of speech and general demeanor that led some to wonder whether he was equipped to deal with the sophisticated politics of the Pentagon. Those who thought they were dealing with something of a hayseed brought about their own undoing.

Over the years, Secretary Brucker has become a bulwark between the Army and its detractors and between the Army and those whose fiscal and personnel policies would have reduced it to a shell. The manner in which he has carried out this function is a measure of both his moral courage and his political skill.

As a life-long Republican, Secretary Brucker never wavered in loyalty to his party or in his devotion to its national leader. Yet time and again he has appeared before Congressional appropriations committees and flatly denied claims made by the Bureau of the Budget and by the President himself that further reductions in the Army could be made without risk.

Brucker has not been able to block all of these reductions. Nor has he been able to avert the protest resigna-

MR. KENNEDY, a former newspaper reporter and editor, specializes in military affairs.

tions that resulted. But he has retained the respect and, in many cases, the affection of the men who resigned and of those who continued in the service.

Secretary Brucker was caught in the middle in January, 1957 when the long pent-up animosity between the Army General Staff and the Army National Guard broke out into a vicious public dispute. Without bending from a position that tended to favor the General Staff, Mr. Brucker convinced the Guard that he was determined to maintain and defend its traditions and its prerogatives.

Surveying the wreckage caused by this dispute, Gen. Bruce Clarke, now commanding the U.S. Army, Europe, went to Mr. Brucker with the suggestion that the "One Army" concept originally fostered by Gen. John J. Pershing some thirty years before be revived. This involved an attempt to recreate a sense of oneness among the Army's regular and reserve components while retaining the traditions, distinctive missions and pride in service of each.

The "One Army" concept was made to order for Secretary Brucker's talents. He has put the program into effect with a combination of common sense, sincerity and good will that has made the program the outstanding achievement of his career.

Secretary Brucker's success is no accident. He won the Silver Star for heroism as a Rainbow Division lieutenant in World War I. He maintained his interest in the Army throughout his career as a lawyer and public official. Above all, he retained a basic understanding of the American soldier and a profound respect for his abilities and his traditions. As a professional politician and a former Governor, he brought to his present office an unexcelled grasp of the realities of democratic government. In his entire tenure as Secretary of the Army, Mr. Brucker has set a standard against which all future civilian Secretaries will be measured.

WILLIAM V. KENNEDY

On All Horizons

TAPES ON LOAN. Not all sightless persons can read Braille, but most can hear. For these (and other handicapped persons) a special apostolate is carried on by the Catholic Listener Library, P.O. Box 4, Taunton, Mass. The repertory of disks and tapes available for brief loan includes readings and devotions as well as lectures and sacred music.

► **BUDDING WRITERS.** A handsome cash award of \$1,000 awaits the Catholic college student who wins the short story contest sponsored jointly by the Thomas More Assn. of Chicago and

the McGeary Foundation of Miami. Details from the Thomas More Assn., 210 West Madison St., Chicago 6, Ill.

► **NEWMAN DRIVE.** The National Newman Foundation has been organized to seek funds to expand Newman Club work. Archbishop Leo Binz of Dubuque, Iowa, became the first subscriber by contributing \$1,000 to the initial goal of \$125,000. Present headquarters of the foundation are at 1312 Mass. Ave., N.W., Wash. 5, D.C.

► **INDIAN BLESSED?** Kateri Tekakwitha, "Lily of the Mohawks," born

three centuries ago in an Indian village at present-day Auriesville, N.Y., may be beatified soon. The second of the two miracles needed prior to beatification is now under examination in Rome. For many years the vice postulator of her cause was the late John J. Wynne, S.J., founder and first Editor-in-Chief of AMERICA.

► **SACRED ART.** Christmas will be featured in a unique colorcast, "The Coming of Christ," Wed., Dec. 21, on N.B.C.'s "Project 20." Hundreds of the world's greatest religious paintings will be shown in a new pictures-in-action technique. Flemish masters will be stressed, together with works of Italian, French, Dutch, Spanish and German schools. R.A.G.

Indonesia at the Crossroads

WHEN PRESIDENT SUKARNO disbanded Indonesia's Constituent Assembly on Aug. 17, 1959 and reverted to the Provisional Constitution of 1945, he was seeking to revive the spirit of national unity that had helped the young nation win its war of independence. Too long had political life been ruled by chaos. For more than a decade an exasperating deadlock between rival parliamentary factions had prevented the passage of much-needed social and economic legislation.

There were few protests, therefore, when Sukarno replaced the elected parliament with one of his own choosing. At present the Indonesian parliament consists of nearly all the members of the former body (with the exception of the Masjumi and Socialist parties) and hand-picked representatives from religious, social, economic, vocational and regional groups. Thus far the new legislators have accomplished nothing sensational in the way of economic and social reform. Yet, with the coining of two new words—"Manipol" and "Usdek"—the government appears to have caught the imagination of the people. Indonesians are hopeful as they never have been before. It is as though the words possessed a magical quality which will at last set them on the road to prosperity and social justice. They are on all lips.

"Manipol" stands for "political manifesto" and refers to the program proposed by Sukarno in his 1959 decree dissolving parliament. The program has five basic ideas, the initial letters of which form the word "Usdek." They are: the 1945 Constitution, Indonesian socialism, guided democracy, guided economy, Indonesian personality.

The key word here is "guided." It means that to a large extent the state has taken over the political and economic life of the country. This state intervention, however, must be judged against the background of Indonesian political chaos and the obvious need for authoritative economic planning. A certain amount of regimentation is necessary if this country, which formerly produced mainly for export and had to import even the rice needed to feed its 80 million people, is to become self-sustaining in consumer goods.

Ideologically this Indonesian socialism, with its appeal to Pantjasila, the so-called Five Principles which lie behind it, stands midway between economic liberalism and communism. It stresses belief in God and social justice, two of the five pillars of Pantjasila. Indeed, one can read much of *Quadragesimo Anno* into Sukarno's brand of socialism. Both speak of a more equitable distribution of wealth, of vocational representation in govern-

ment and of the encouragement of the family spirit among men. To this observer, it has been inspiring to note that many influential Indonesians are thinking along these lines. The most vociferous opposition to Pantjasila socialism has come from right- and left-wing extremists.

It is not surprising that the Indonesian hierarchy has thrown the full weight of its support to President Sukarno. Speaking on its behalf a year ago, Bishop A. Soegijapranata, S.J., Vicar Apostolic of Semarang, declared that the Presidential decree of August, 1959 should have come sooner. Just recently he told Indonesian students in Western Europe that they should not think of "Manipol" and "Usdek" as alien to God or human dignity. Indonesian socialism, he remarked, "is Pantjasila socialism and not Western socialism based on materialism."

The question uppermost in most minds, of course, is this: Will Indonesian socialism work? There are hopeful signs. Votes are no longer the sole concern of the members of parliament. In the beginning, for example, the new law on land reform looked ominous. After a week of consultation and debate, however, most of the objectionable points were changed. On the subject of nationalization, it was agreed that, though the government must control the industrial and agricultural development of the country, private initiative is also necessary to stimulate efficiency.

It cannot be denied that certain measures adopted by the government are acceptable only in view of the present state of emergency. Indeed, some are precisely the measures which would be adopted, albeit more radically, by a Communist regime. It is also true that, in its efforts to speed up economic development and to rouse national consciousness, the government has leaned toward dictatorship. The difference is that in Indonesia Pantjasila, with its emphasis on belief in God and the natural law, is still the guiding spirit.

At this writing, the People's Advisory Council is in full session at Bandung, where it must pass on the work of the President's National Planning Council. The more than 600 members of this body have been divided into large sections, each consisting of representatives of major trends in Indonesian thought. Catholics and Protestants are included, as are members of nationalist, Muslim and Communist groups. All are in constant contact with one another as they discuss compromises.

The People's Advisory Council has already approved "Manipol" and "Usdek" as a general government directive. It now remains to be seen how far the program is to be carried out. All Indonesia awaits the outcome of the deliberations.

J. HAARSELHORST

FR. HAARSELHORST, S.J., is AMERICA's corresponding editor in Jakarta, Indonesia.

Editorials

Responsible Colonialism

THE UNITED NATIONS could not have chosen a more unlikely historical moment to engage in bitter debate over the evils of Western colonialism. At the year's end no less than 16 African countries have managed to shrug off the colonial incubus and strike out on their own as free and independent nations. Add those in Asia and the tally mounts to almost two score newly sovereign countries with some 800 million people whose representatives now sit in the UN General Assembly and take part in its debates. Historians of the future will certainly record that the postwar decade and a half marked the beginning of the end of the colonial era.

True, remnants of colonialism still remain in the so-called underdeveloped areas of the world. In Africa, for example, six territories—Kenya, Uganda, Ruanda Urundi, Tanganyika, Sierra Leone and the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland—are being prepared for independence. A dozen others, mostly Portuguese-ruled, seem destined to remain non-self-governing, at least for the time being.

These vestiges of an almost bygone era have provided the occasion for a new Soviet propaganda assault in the UN. In an obvious effort to embarrass the West and, incidentally, to curry favor in Africa, the Soviets have proposed a resolution demanding the "immediate" end of all colonial regimes in favor of self-determination for all peoples. The issue raised is this: Shall the Western colonial powers withdraw without further ado from their areas of control, leaving the colonial people to their fate regardless of the degree of their political maturity?

Happily, the Afro-Asian bloc has seen through the Soviet maneuver. In the course of the debate, they proposed a resolution of their own, substituting the word "speedy" for "immediate." The one dubious point in the Afro-Asian resolution is the provision that "inadequacy of political, economic, social or cultural preparedness" should not serve as a pretext for delaying independence.

We hold no brief for colonialism in the traditional sense of the word. We are realistic enough to believe that no "pretext" will be strong enough to stem the tide of history in Asia or Africa. There is more to genuine freedom, however, than the mere aspiration to be free. The whole world knows the tragedy that overtook the Congo when Belgium was suddenly forced to relinquish its holdings last June 30. As events have proved, the Congolese people were not "politically, economically, socially or culturally" prepared to assume the responsibilities of self-rule. If even five years ago the Congolese had demanded that Belgium begin then effectively to prepare the way for self-government, the tragedy of the Congo would have been avoided.

Ultimately, the burden of responsibility falls on the colonial power. Over three years ago the French hier-

archy recognized as legitimate the aspirations of the people of Algeria to the free exercise of their civic, cultural and religious rights and to political action with a view to independence. The well-being of a colonial people anywhere, the bishops pointed out, is the only norm which justifies the presence of the foreigner. Colonialism is not justified by a false sense of racial superiority, nor by economic imperialism, nor by the pretense that the colonizer has a civilizing mission.

If, therefore, there must be a UN resolution on colonialism, let it be a calm and reasonable one. No purpose will be served by urging a headlong, precipitous flight toward self-rule regardless of the consequences. Much could be achieved, on the other hand, if the colonial powers were persuaded to take a new look at their responsibilities toward the subject peoples. The independent nations-to-be need intelligently planned educational and economic aid if they are to begin to satisfy the growing aspirations of their people. A great deal has already been done. But much more remains to be done if the inevitable transition to self-rule is to proceed effortlessly and painlessly. That is the lesson of the Congo.

Betrayal of States' Rights

ONE OF the ironies of political development in this generation has been the harm done to the concept of States' rights by so-called States'-righters. As usual when persons talk incessantly of their rights, little is said about correlative duties. Those who have shouted loudest about States' rights have been notably silent on the responsibilities of the States. They, more than anyone else, are the true enemies of States' rights.

The recent display that disgraced the Louisiana State Legislature was a more than ordinarily shocking example of State irresponsibility. Urban, cosmopolitan, sophisticated New Orleans, left to itself, would not have caused the trouble that racked that city. The city government and the larger and saner part of the population were ready to comply with the Federal court order requiring partial desegregation of public schools. The local school board had worked out a plan geared to the city's political and social climate. Such a plan had already worked in Houston, the largest Southern city, and could reasonably be expected to work in the neighboring metropolis of New Orleans.

What happened instead is well known throughout the country and, regrettably, the world (see p. 399). Several politicians, notorious in a State famed for notorious politicians, saw in the cliché of "States' rights" a means of entrenching themselves in power and the favor of the rabble. They whipped up a certain amount of sentiment for "interposition," or disobedience to the law of the land as interpreted by the U.S. Supreme Court. State sovereignty was rashly, and in the end futilely, opposed to national sovereignty.

Most students of American government believe strongly in federalism. The balance of powers inherent in our dual sovereignty of nation and States confers

many advantages. It helps prevent an excess of centralization. It allows for the nuances of local understanding of local problems. It encourages political experimentation on a scale that need not be disastrous if unsuccessful. It helps us avoid that enervation of local energies caused, according to de Tocqueville, "by incessantly diminishing their local spirit."

But, as C. S. Lewis once warned, aristocracy is not best preserved by doing what aristocrats most enjoy doing. Nor is democracy fostered by what democrats like best. Nor does local autonomy flourish when it is made the vehicle for local prejudice and the cloak for violations of rights guaranteed by the Federal Constitution.

Since 1925 the U.S. Supreme Court has been quietly engaged in a legal revolution known to students as "the nationalization of civil rights." Today almost any alleged violation of civil rights by a State government can be appealed to the Federal courts. By a steady and ever broadening application of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Supreme Court has made itself in effect the third house of every State Legislature.

This process has undoubtedly changed the character of our federal system and perhaps has weakened it. At least it is understandable that sincere believers in States' rights should find this legal revolution disquieting. Some members of the court itself, notably Justice Frankfurter, have dissented forcefully from what they consider unwarranted overruling of State laws.

Yet we can think of no better way for State Legislatures to preserve their proper autonomy in the Federal system than by acting always with a scrupulous regard for the constitutional rights of all their citizens. If the States will not protect those rights, the Federal courts (and Congress, too) will. It is easy to point with alarm to the growth of Federal power. But only too often Federal power is merely filling the vacuum left by States which are so intent upon their rights that they neglect to perform their duties.

Teacher in a Picture Tube

CHANGING a college curriculum, educators always say, is something like moving a graveyard. In fact, the physical relocation of old human bones might at times seem a much simpler process than the labor of rewriting a college catalogue. Academic habits and procedures are hardy perennials.

Educators are supposed to be professionally open-minded people. But their minds, like everyone else's, can lock shut to protect a shibboleth of their trade. One such shibboleth, according to Alvin C. Eurich, executive director of the Ford Foundation's Education Division, and former president of the State University of New York, is the "unalterable truth" about fixed teacher-student ratios.

It has long been assumed that in elementary education the ideal class is made up of one teacher and 30 students; in high schools the teacher should have no more than 25 young scholars to instruct; and in college,

classes should hold no more than 13 students. In the November, 1960 issue of *Tax Review*, a publication of Tax Foundation, Inc. (30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.), Dr. Eurich flatly asserts that

a half-century of experimental work does not support this fixation in American education. In fact, research places the burden of proof on the proponents of small classes. Students do as well in examinations, and in many cases better, if taught in larger classes by *superior teachers*.

Teachers on all levels, especially superior teachers, are in frightfully short supply. Moreover, we know that the percentage of our youth in college will probably triple during the next 25 years. This will mean larger and larger classes. Ultimately—and the day is not far off—it will mean widespread use of video tape in the classroom. And what's wrong with it? Why shouldn't a superior teacher have 300,000 or more students? A youngster may not feel like bringing a bright red apple to a teacher in a picture tube—but he'll *have* a teacher.

Challenge of Our Future

LAST FEBRUARY President Eisenhower established a Commission on National Goals. The eleven-man board was given the task of developing a broad outline of U.S. objectives and programs for the next decade and beyond.

Working in collaboration with more than a hundred experts, the nonpartisan group released its recommendations to the press on November 23. In order that the document might be widely available for examination and discussion, it was also published on December 12 by Prentice-Hall under the title *Goals for Americans*.

The Report of the Commission is an eloquent and comprehensive document that identifies the key areas of the national interest at home and abroad, and attempts to suggest practical means of developing them. It ranges from the necessity of abolishing all vestiges of racial discrimination to the substantial reform of our tax systems. It stresses the need of vastly expanding our educational effort and the importance of a larger economic growth rate. It is detailed enough to touch on the wisdom of being selective in our space objectives, and humane enough to call for stimulation of creative activity in the arts.

It was impossible, of course, that such a document should escape criticism. We will mention only two points here.

One of our greatest dailies expressed disappointment as soon as the report was issued. It observed that the work of the commission would not generate "creative enthusiasm." It felt that the report put stress on the obvious, largely confined itself to generalities and emphasized "compromise at a lowest common denominator of agreement."

In a dissenting statement, George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO and a member of the commission, charged that the report "marches right up to the issues, always faces them boldly, then often turns away, with-

out making the necessary . . . proposals for attaining the very goals the Commission believes necessary."

By way of brief defense of the report, we would like to remark that if it does not utter a clarion call for greatness, it is because we have lost our power to hear and respond to a noble challenge; we have grown inert and complacent in the face of the unfinished business of the Republic. If the report offers some weak or impractical means of implementing goals that are obvious but unimpeachable, what else could be expected of a commission that represents the common effort of many diverse minds? The commissioners responsible for it never expected unanimous acceptance; they wished to evoke rational discussion—"Under the democratic process this is the path to a national consensus."

Careful readers of the report will scarcely miss its four basic themes: 1) its recurrent stress is on the primacy and dignity of the individual in human society; 2) it constantly emphasizes the responsibility of the individual at every level of the emerging future; 3) it correctly assesses the nature of the Communist menace and the necessity of meeting it constructively; 4) the report properly places our future in a context of world law and organization where our ultimate goal is to extend the opportunities for self-development to all.

It is now the fashion to talk of the New Frontier. But the conquest of frontiers demands a pioneering spirit. If we wish to reach our goals along that rugged perimeter, then, as the report observes, "in the 1960's every American is summoned to extraordinary personal responsibility, sustained effort and sacrifice."

Iron for Nation's Will

ALL DURING the week beginning November 27 the news from abroad had a big quota of disturbing items. The Congo continued to make big, bold headlines. Where that unhappy land was headed became more and more difficult to say. What had started as an international effort to rescue from chaos a nation ill-prepared for self-government had degenerated into a costly and divisive enterprise that was widening cleavages in the United Nations as well as in Africa. Through the machinations of the Soviet Union and Red China, abetted by Ghana and Guinea, the Cold War had spread to another continent.

From strategic little Laos the news remained obscure and disquieting. Apparently Prince Souvanna Phouma was persisting in his efforts to form a motley coalition that would include his own neutralist group, the pro-Communist Pathet Lao and the anti-Communist forces grouped around General Phoumi Nosovan. General Nosovan seemed unequal to the task of recapturing the capital city of Vientiane and stopping the deadly drift to pro-Communist neutrality.

A revolt in Argentina was quickly smashed. But all week long the democratic and pro-American regime of President Romulo Betancourt struggled against Communist and pro-Castro forces to prevent oil-rich Venezuela from going the way of Cuba. For the moment

things were quiet in Guatemala, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, but U.S. planes and ships continued to patrol the Central American coastline. The virus of "Fidelismo" had penetrated widely through Latin America.

Events in bloody Algeria were rushing toward another climax. With his people as divided as ever, there was some question whether General de Gaulle, having saved France from revolution once, could do so again. On December 2 the powerful Independent party, which has been part of the government coalition, split with de Gaulle over Algerian policy.

Against this gloomy background, some of the domestic news that broke the same week made disheartening reading. Day after dismal day New Orleans held its shameful spot on the front pages. Throughout the former colonial world of Asia and Africa, and the Communist press everywhere, Little Rock lost its dubious preeminence.

From Indianapolis came word that President Maurice A. Hutcheson of the giant Carpenters Brotherhood and Vice President William Blaier had been sentenced to prison terms for their part in the Indiana highway scandals. Pending the outcome of an appeal for a new trial, the union's executive board, oblivious to public opinion, refused to take any action against the men.

In Philadelphia, a small legal army—more than eighty lawyers jammed the courtroom—lost a protracted effort to save their clients from the full consequences of their misdeeds. And who were the clients? They were all the big names—and many of the smaller ones—in the electrical manufacturing industry. Accused by the U.S. Department of Justice of conspiring to rig bids and fix prices, the defendants finally pleaded either guilty or *nolo contendere* (no contest) to a score of indictments. Not all the companies were charged with every offense, but General Electric and Westinghouse were indicted in 19 cases, I-T-E Circuit Breaker in nine and Allis-Chalmers in eight. Said Robert A. Bicks, head of the Justice Department's Antitrust Division, to Federal Judge J. Cullen Ganey: "These men and their companies have in a true sense mocked the image of that economic system which we profess to the world."

To those who fondly imagine that Divine Providence has granted the United States some special dispensation from the ills and weaknesses to which, as history testifies, nations as well as men are heir, this juxtaposition of news from home and abroad will be a matter of little moment. To people less credulous and presumptuous, it should be a cause for soul-searching.

A good many citizens are quietly hoping that our new President will regard as perhaps his chief duty the injecting of iron into the nation's will and purpose. In normal times, we can afford some slackness in our national will, even some looseness in our habits and practices. We are, after all, a very rich and powerful nation—and our heart is sound. But in today's precarious world, there is no place for the careless relaxations and shoddy compromises of peacetime. We must show to the world not only missiles and bombs and gadgets galore, but also a moral stance that reflects the nobility of our cause.

Eyes on Africa

Thomas Patrick Melady

THE YEAR 1960 has been called "the year of African freedom" because by the end of this year 16 nations will have received their independence. In 1950 only two African states (not including the Union of South Africa) were members of the United Nations. By 1962, however, it is estimated that at least thirty will belong.

Simultaneous with these rapid changes has been the growing interest of the Soviet Union in the world's second-largest continent. Although their interest in Africa is relatively recent, the Communists moved swiftly once they realized that Western colonial rule was coming to a quick end.

In their first approach to Africa, the Russians brought a simple slogan of togetherness, a powerful sales punch richly larded with Marxist dialectics. The African was made aware of his primitive conditions, his inferiority and his needs. Then with a burst of friendship the Soviet representative, whether a teacher at a Soviet college or a visiting agent-expert, declared: "You are now where we were forty years ago! Do as we do [the force of that "we" is tremendous] and you too will make astounding progress. Look at us. We have become the most powerful and scientifically advanced nation in the world."

Russia has not neglected to do its basic "homework" for the African campaign. In the intellectual and cultural offensive to achieve Communist domination of another great continent, the Soviet planners have taken the pains to develop the "heavy artillery" of the campaign in their own country first.

Soviet Russia's leading universities have significantly strengthened their African-studies sections. They have speeded the training of linguists, anthropologists and historians of Africa on a broad front. The Oriental Institute (*Institut Vostokovedenia*) of the Soviet Academy of Science reoriented its curriculum and began concentrating on Southeast Asia and Africa. Its eminent Prof. I. I. Potekhin made various research trips to Africa and he has been followed by an unending flow of missions, observers and technicians.

The purpose of these cultural emissaries has been not so much to indoctrinate as to gain knowledge. Effectively to convert a people to communism, one must know them: their culture, traditions, hopes, problems and, if

they exist, their superstitions. To know which appeals will work most effectively, one must understand a people's psychological strong and weak points and the other vital aspects of their character. All this information is gathered and brought back to Russia, where it can be woven into the over-all program.

Two major, though unannounced, objectives of Soviet propaganda can be surmised: 1) to prove that all things from the Western world—its Christian religion, its economic system, its culture, its colonial policies, its morals—are bad for Africa; and 2) to prove that Soviet communism is the royal road to success for Africa and its various peoples.

Another objective has been to convince Africans that Soviet Russia played a powerful role, through the UN and by direct action, in speeding the recognition of their freedom. This, of course, is almost completely myth, but we can expect to see it spread by implication and innuendo.

The University of Leningrad, a center of oriental studies even in Czarist times, has opened a Department of African Languages with several professorships. Coverage includes such African tongues as Swahili, Hausa, Bantu and the Sudanic languages. In a score of Soviet universities Amharic, Arabic, Egyptian and other African languages are taught.

African customs and institutions are being used as case material for much that is taught in ethnography and anthropology. A number of Russian museums today can point with pride to excellent exhibits of African art. The serious African scholar who comes to Russia is made to feel at home.

ONE of the most dramatic moves, calculated to show Soviet Russia's leadership in the training of African as well as Asian and South American students, was the founding in Moscow of the People's Friendship University. Announced first in a speech by Premier Khrushchev while he was touring Indonesia, it opened its doors in September, 1960 to an announced student body of 500. Within a few years its enrollment will grow to three or four thousand.

The university is to be a living example that all good things come to the promising young Communist revolutionary from underdeveloped countries. Tuition and housing in the university are gratis. Students may apply from any nation in the continents mentioned and need not be sponsored by their own countries. In fact, it is probably much more helpful to have the good word of

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the Soviet consul or other agent operating in the country of origin. In this way the USSR hopes to circumvent possible resistance by governments either suspicious or openly hostile to Communist plans.

With methods resembling those of some American colleges recruiting football stars, the Soviets pass over the fact that students from foreign nations may be unprepared scholastically to handle university work. Special schools for students up to the age of 35, therefore, provide pre-university training for as long as three years, during which the immature, plastic minds of the visitors can be molded into the hard cast of international communism.

The opportunism of Soviet policy under Khrushchev is nowhere better illustrated than in its use of the Russian Orthodox Church, rushed into service to forge stronger links with Ethiopia. Russian clergymen from the much-suppressed Russian Church have been flown to Addis Ababa to meet with officials of the Ethiopian Coptic Christian Church. Russian icons and a great bell have been sent to St. George's Cathedral in Addis Ababa. Proposals are being made openly for a union between the Russian and Ethiopian churches.

ACTUALLY, some writers declare, the immediate aim of Soviet policy is not the creation of Communist parties but the complete divorce and alienation of Africans from anything Western. Various transmission-belt front organizations are used wherever more direct action is not desirable.

An Association for Friendship with the People of Africa was organized in mid-1959. Its announced plan is to promote various activities which will "consolidate the friendship of the Soviet and African peoples" by disseminating information on the history and culture of African countries. It will also "establish new and close contact with African cultural figures and public bodies."

The Soviet satellites have been called into service in the Red plan for Africa. Thus, Sofia in Bulgaria has been made the center for training African party leaders: Czechoslovakia is a training site for technicians and engineers; and East Germany maintains a program for labor organizers. Radio propaganda also has been stepped up and now includes daily broadcasts in Swahili.

Like all organizers, Soviet agents give special attention to youth. Young Communist leagues, student groups and other activities abound in the Soviet program. The hypnotic pull of Marxist theorizing, slanted to the local problems and self-interest of the listener, is utilized with any promising young intellectual who can be drawn into the Soviet cultural orbit.

Idealism and pacifism are invoked to call for an end to nuclear testing (i.e., by the Western powers), and the dove of disarmament flutters constantly over the discussion groups and seminars. Only the wicked Western world, especially the warmongers and exploiters of the United States, stand in the way of peace on earth.

Sékou Touré, President of Guinea, is a former trade-union revolutionary and the present darling of the

Communist powers. Into his country have come rare gifts: printing presses and a powerful radio transmitter. The complete severance of Guinea's political, economic and cultural links with France means that Guinea now meets the Communists' definition of real independence. The USSR and other Communist states now supply new economic and cultural ties for Guinea and other parts of Africa. Among the school textbooks prepared in Moscow is a *History of Africa*.

When England and France granted independence to their colonies after World War II, they deprived the USSR of a major talking point. The Communist propaganda is now being revised, however, to take this into consideration. The new line runs like this: Even though independent, an African nation will remain in poverty as long as it deals economically with the West. Africans will never abolish the triple curse of poverty, illiteracy and disease except through Marxism. Though the Western mind might reject this fantastic thesis as illogical, unprovable and at variance with the facts, the Soviets have two factors on their side.

The first is the power of the lie, if one shouts it loud enough and long enough and "supports" it with enough specious argument—at which the Russian agent is a past master.

The second is the African's impatience for immediate progress, which makes him susceptible to any solution offered, provided it is simple—and quick. The Communist cure for all Africa's miseries is a coin on the face of which is something called Marxism and on the reverse, anticolonialism. The African is frequently impressed.

A few Chinese traders have long been established in business enterprises on the continent, particularly in East Africa. Today Red China takes a more than brotherly interest in their affairs. Leftist Africans are invited to visit Peiping and discuss their problems with sympathetic Chinese leaders. Among the visitors within the past year have been Assi Camille Adam, chairman of the Ivory Coast National Liberation Committee. Others

include Bengila, said to be deputy general secretary of the African Solidarity party of the Congo, and Jean Matumbo, a member of the political bureau of the Congolese People's party.

In September, 1960, Peiping provided a precedent-shattering reception for Guinea's Sékou Touré, topping it off with a long-term, low-interest loan of



\$25 million. Peiping is currently assisting Algeria's Moslem rebels and, if the conflict is not resolved in the next few months, will probably provide Chinese "volunteers" for the Algerian rebel forces.

Thrown on the defensive by the Western powers' rapid granting of independence, the Red line now promotes two rather involved ideas:

1. Independence such as now exists is "only political." Africa's economy is "still in the hands of the colonialists." "We must fight," declares Mr. Adam. "The real fight begins today."

2. The United States is seeking to take over control of various African nations through "economic infiltration." Uncle Sam is described, for example, as backing French policy in Algeria, and as the villain behind the scenes in other parts of Africa.

Developed by Marx in the atmosphere of early 19th-century factory-worker problems and industrialism, the ideology of communism calls all members of the "bourgeoisie" its enemies. The industrial worker was the oppressed of the world, and it was he who would break the chains which Marx told him had been put upon him by his capitalist oppressors. Nationalism, the Marxist declared, was evil. Only international communism could solve the problems of mankind.

THE enthusiastic patriotism of many new nations after 1945 flew in the face of this once-revered Communist line. In many places there were relatively few workers to be exploited by their capitalist masters or liberated by their Communist comrades. The Soviet policy unabashedly revised itself in favor of the facts.

The Bandung Conference of April, 1955 taught the Russians some additional rough lessons. There were scathing remarks about the Russian suppression of nationalist movements in the Ukraine, Uzbekistan and Byelorussia and about the Soviet Government's execution of nationalist leaders. The delegates at the conference, mostly proud and eager nationalists themselves, were unwilling to listen to insinuations or arguments against nationalism. The antinationalist approach was quickly dropped.

Aware that most of Africa's leaders are middle-class in background and highly nationalistic in philosophy, the Soviets have indicated that it is acceptable for Communists to deal with these bourgeois leaders in the ex-colonial lands of Africa. Red China, on the other hand, has refused to make such an adjustment. Peiping has clearly said that Moscow's accommodation to these African nationalists is a violation of Marxist-Lenin theory and a heresy. The Chinese, following the pattern of Mao Tse-tung's own rise to power, are encouraging by every means an immediate proletarian revolution.

Current Chinese efforts to assist such uprisings include the sending of "rice technicians" to Guinea, "tea advisers" to Morocco, Chinese acrobats to Ethiopia and the Sudan. More important, perhaps, is the fact that 54 separate African delegations went to Peiping in 1959 and 1960.

Another adjustment made by the Communists is the soft-pedaling of their atheistic doctrines. Nothing is said by the Communists against the deep spiritual values found in Africa. On the other hand, they have turned this spiritual depth into something useful in their strategy. Much of the current Communist literature attacking the United States points out the materialism and lack of spiritual values in the American way of life.

The West, and the United States in particular, starts in Africa with several great assets. While it may not be apparent in much that has been done in the past, America can stand on the idealistic and theoretical base of Christianity and its doctrine of "love thy neighbor." Christianity glorifies help for the less fortunate—a role in which the African readily imagines himself. Out of the resources of Christian compassion over the centuries have sprung hospitals, orphan asylums, schools and colleges.

The word "America" thus can mean more than great wealth. It bespeaks great generosity and concern for the stricken and the unfortunate of the world. While America's support of independence has been modified by her need to maintain friendly relations with the colonial powers, America none the less should now without reservation demonstrate its formal as well as its personal sympathies for a free and independent Africa.

Except in the Portuguese and Spanish areas, Southwest Africa and the Union of South Africa, the basic political decisions for independence have been made. The problem of primary importance in 1960-1970 will be that of reducing poverty, illiteracy and disease. Here is an ideal opportunity for the American people to demonstrate by deeds the impact of Judeo-Christian ethics on their social thinking. The energies of America, if concentrated on these problems of the African people, could bring into focus, not only our humanitarian heritage, but also the vast technological skills developed in this free, democratic, pluralistic society, and thus forge the firm basis of a Western-African community.

Various elements of the private and public sectors of the American economy are working in Africa. But these present efforts in no way meet the challenge. Furthermore, there does not seem to be a plan, a blueprint for action. The Executive branch of our American Government has the responsibility for preparing a program of action which will balk the campaign to bring Africa into the Soviet sphere of influence. Since 1945 Eastern Europe and China have been lost to communism. Since Moscow has the same plan for Africa, the American public should be concerned about the catastrophic implications of losing that continent.

The United States needs to acknowledge and articulate the humanitarian geopolitical importance of keeping Africa a free zone completely uncontrolled by the new Communist imperialism. America is concerned that Africa not only become free, but that it keep this freedom in a dangerous and uneasy world. There will be political freedom, but many, if not most, of the states of Africa will be dependent economically either on neighboring states or on outside nations.

By assisting African independence and economic development, and by energetic efforts in the councils of the UN, the United States can help the African nations to emerge from economic backwardness and from the aftereffects of colonialism. Only by a vigorous and bold policy can we help them to avoid the brightly camouflaged trap of communism, within whose pit the African's mind and heart, once entangled, could lie forever chained.

State of the Question

AN OPEN LETTER TO ALL AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS

The authors of this letter are three native African students, Theophilus Okonkwo of Nigeria, Andrew R. Amar of Uganda and Michael Ayih of Togo. Until recently all of them were enrolled at Moscow State University in the Soviet Union. They issued the following letter at Frankfurt, Germany, on September 20, 1960.

IN THE NAME of all loyal Africans, the Executive Committee of the African Students Union in Moscow wishes respectfully to call the attention of all African governments to the deceits, the threats, the pressures, the brutality and the discrimination with which the Soviet administrators and strategists have so often handled African and other foreign students in the USSR. We further wish to stress the great danger communism is to true Africanism.

The decision to present the case against communism to African and world opinion was taken in secret executive session in Moscow by representatives from Algeria, the Cameroons, the Congo, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, the UAR and Uganda. Members of the Executive Committee were given the duty of presenting the case when they got out of the Soviet Union.

Against Communist Rulers

Our accusations are directed against the Communist rulers, not against the friendly Russian people we met and some of whom we came to love, not against the mother of four who ran out in the streets to welcome African students on a controlled tour and in parting said: "Tell your people in Africa that there are more people here to be liberated than in Africa," and not against the Pasternaks, great and small, of Russia, who compassionately seek the brotherhood of man. No, we accuse the disastrous ambition of Communist dictatorship and its bureaucracy that have brought terror and fear to much of the world. The cases that follow show the true nature of Communist "friendship" for African peoples.

The story of S. Omor Okullo, of Uganda, has been written in some detail by his friends who remained behind in the Soviet Union and who saw the great lengths to which the Soviet administra-

tors would go to vilify anyone who tried to tell the truth about the Soviet Union. In the first place, Mr. Okullo and other African students have made statements to the Western press, not because "they had joined the imperialist camp" as the Soviet propagandists claim, but instead because free opinion is muzzled in the Soviet Union, because the servile Soviet press cannot publish any dissenting point of view, and because the mockery of democracy that operates in this totalitarian dictatorship does not recognize the individual.

When Mr. Okullo was "expelled" from the Soviet Union, African students who remained demanded an explanation from Soviet authorities who claimed that he had been expelled for stubbornness, reaction, spying and for association with Western diplomats. The Soviet authorities could not substantiate these charges; nevertheless they wanted Mr. Okullo out of their country. Mr. Okullo left the Soviet Union and told the world what he saw there.

The Soviet press then came up with the fantasy that Mr. Okullo was expelled for failing his exams and for immorality. The charge of immorality in whisky drinking is simply not true. As all of Mr. Okullo's friends know, he never drinks anything but an occasional glass of beer. Furthermore, Mr. Okullo passed all exams he took last year, and this year had had no exams before he was expelled. It is true that Mr. Okullo, along with many other Afro-Asiatic students, appealed to African and Western embassies for help to leave the Soviet Union. This could scarcely be otherwise considering the constant threats, denial of freedom and insults to which they were subjected. Out of respect for the Soviets, however, no Western representative has granted scholarships directly to Afro-Asiatic students in Moscow; instead they advised them to apply from their own countries. Yet the Soviets

have illegally brought many people to the Soviet Union in the name of help to Africa. Many of these people cannot leave now that they want to, and Soviet propagandists exploit them against their wishes.

The Soviet propaganda machinery followed up their false charges against Mr. Okullo with several letters to African leaders and organizations in an effort to cover up the truth. Moscow radio officials came to the university, offering large sums of money to buy the consciences of African students against Okullo. These officials were angrily rebuffed by students from the Congo, Kenya, the Sudan, Mali, Togo, Uganda, Guinea, Ghana, the Cameroons, the UAR and Nigeria who knew the truth, and who accused the propagandists of wanting to broadcast more falsehoods to the African peoples to cause still more divisions in their ranks.

The propagandists finally found a fellow traveler in Abdel Halim of the Sudan, who hardly knew Mr. Okullo, and who was pressured into making false accusations against him. Then the so-called Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, an instrument of Soviet propaganda, came up with a vilifying press conference after bribing a few Arab students. In this conference everything Soviet was the best in the world, yet many of those students the Soviet propagandists used to testify were even then trying to escape the Soviet Union and get scholarships in the West.

Finally the Soviet propagandists paid two Somali students, M. A. Dunkaal and A. M. Omer (who themselves had tried unsuccessfully to get scholarships in Great Britain, where they would prefer to be), to go to London and make a false statement to the *Daily Worker* (July 27, 1960) against Mr. Okullo.

The Okonkwo Case

There are many cases we could cite of Communist deceitful exploitation of African students without their knowledge or consent. We have chosen one that occurred recently to Theophilus Okonkwo, who has just gotten out of the Soviet Union to tell this story. In early June he was exercising in the Moscow University gym and a Russian student took a picture of him in a boxing pose; perfectly innocent so far, but then a few weeks later a friend put the

August issue of the *New Times* in front of him and said: "Look what they've done to you." There, in a full-page picture was Mr. Okonkwo in the boxing pose, but now the Soviet propagandists had blatantly dubbed in broken chains on his wrists and a white man with a whip falling back in terror. Without Mr. Okonkwo's knowledge or consent, the Communists had spread this propaganda construction in a number of Communist magazines through the world. Mr. Okonkwo's protests to the Soviet authorities were, of course, to no avail.

The Omburo Case

Benjamin Omburo, from Kenya, who still remains in the Soviet Union, has courageously asked us to tell his story to the outside world. He wrote a letter of complaint on August 19 to the Soviet authorities, but they showed callous indifference.

Mr. Omburo was at a bus stop with a Russian girl when, in Mr. Omburo's words, written in the above letter,

a policeman approached us and demanded the right to speak to the girl. I explained that I am a student at the Moscow University. I gave him my address and telephone to check, but I refused to let him put questions to the girl unnecessarily. After all, the girl had committed no crime. The girl is a student.

The police used force to drag us to the telephone room, took the girl's address and called for reinforcements. The police who came were hostile, primitive and completely inhuman. When I claimed I was concerned in the affair and that I should also go to the police station with the girl, they mauled me, beat me, pushed me, and left me wet and muddy on the road. I feel that the police demanded the girl's address because she was with me, a black man. If not for this reason, why then don't the police stop every girl with a boy and inquire of their address?

Mr. Omburo's is not an isolated case of Soviet brutality. There was, for example, the case of the Somali student who got into an argument with a Communist student at a party. The student mobilized the help of three friends, who made friendly gestures to the Somali student and at the end of the party invited him to their rooms. Unsuspecting, he followed. They led him downstairs

where there was no light, and beat him unconscious.

On arrival, many of us were lavishly welcomed and feted, as a result of which some of us were impressed and made statements and broadcasts favorable to the Soviet Union that we came to rue. Initially, a number of us, embittered by the ignoble aspects of colonial rule, had looked upon communism, before we knew it face to face, as a panacea. Under such conditions, the so-called Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee extorted promises from African students and took so many of the photographs which were sent to African peoples to sway their sympathies. But the scales gradually fell from our eyes. We saw how the attitudes of the Soviet Administration changed toward us if we said "No" to anything, or suggested that not everything in the land of Marxist Leninism was perfect.

What is more important to Africa, we saw many and deep forms of discrimination under the Soviet system. Foreign students, especially Afro-Asiat-



ics, have encountered shocking humiliations. Hundreds of fine Soviet students have been punished for their association with foreigners. At the Chemistry Faculty of Moscow University, Irina Alexandrevna told Soviet students they should be ashamed of themselves for intimacy with African people, who are "low down in the West" and who had been brought to the Soviet Union to be impressed with the Soviet way of life. It was unthinkable that the Soviet students should allow themselves to be influenced by such people.

At the first Medical Institute, Dekan Kuzin and the head of the Russian Language Department told foreign students that they could not study in the Soviet Union as in capitalist countries where students study at their own expense and therefore do things on their own initiative. The Soviet Union finances the African students, so they

should do what they are told. They pointed out that foreign students were taking the places of many Soviet students, but that, despite this and their colonial oppression, the foreign students still held to their "capitalist" ideas. (This, of course, meant freedom to disagree.) Soviet wives of nearly all Asiatic students, and even those of some students from Czechoslovakia and Poland, were refused certificates on graduation and were not given employment. Those who applied to leave the Soviet Union were subjected to many pressures, including threats against relatives.

There is hardly any foreign student who has not come to grips with the intransigence of the Soviet Administration, especially in his relations toward Soviet citizens. Soviet women married to foreigners are often not allowed to return to their country again. Afro-Asiatics married to Soviet citizens remain in the USSR. An African student and a Soviet girl in love applied for a marriage license. The Ministry of Higher Education ordered him to leave the Soviet Union within three days—and the girl disappeared.

Students from Ghana and the Cameroons received threatening and insulting letters from Russian students. When consulted, the university authorities did nothing about it. Another Ghana student was so ridiculed and disgraced by student hooligans belonging to Kom-somol (the Communist Youth Organization) that he lodged an official complaint with the Ghanaian Embassy in Moscow.

We have also observed that the Soviets have not accepted the Chinese, and vice versa, except as political brothers. The many thousands of Chinese here seldom go in the company of the Soviets. They hardly fraternize except in anti-Western gatherings. We fail to see any deep-rooted feelings in their relations, and what is more, the Chinese know it.

Soviet Distortion

Soviet writers on Africa paint false pictures of the African situation to the Soviet people in an attempt to strengthen their faith in their system. Professor Potekhin, the so-called Soviet Africanist, in his book on Ghana, written after a fortnight's visit, painted such a false picture of Ghana and displayed such ignorance of the African situation that

West African students came to Moscow from Britain to correct him. Neither the Soviet press nor Mr. Potekhin himself took notice of their comments.

The same Soviet correspondents freely toured in Senegal, and Mr. Vyolovich, in *Vechernaya Moskva* of August 10, compared Senegalese Africans to chimpanzees he saw at the Zoo Park in Dakar, and described the masses as poor and diseased. Yet the Soviet authorities do not allow visitors into the foul-smelling slums in their country, where poverty, disease and ignorance are rampant. They prepare showcases for visitors, who go home without seeing the Soviet Union as it really is. The Soviets export propaganda sheets to every country in the world, but refuse free import of foreign literature—coexistence, indeed.

The height of discrimination was reached when the Soviet authorities announced their Friendship University plans. To build a separate university for Africans, Asiatics and Latin Americans is an insult to these people. It violates the traditional concept of a university as an open institution for learning, irrespective of race, religion or origin. We see this not only as an attempt to segregate these students and offer them lower standards of education, but as an endeavor to insulate Soviet people from contact with foreigners. We see in this proposal a propaganda stunt which ignores the opinion of African leaders. Africans want universities in their own lands—universities with African traditions and African outlook. We cannot continue indefinitely to travel to cold countries and stay for long years away from home. If African governments must send their students to the Soviet Union, they should stipulate the conditions under which these students study and insure that their people are not subject to undue or humiliating pressure from Soviet authorities.

Communist Colonialism

Look around the world today. Wherever Communists' guns have thundered, they have stayed and exploited. Communism has never been voted freely into office in a single country. The new Communist brand of colonialism is well marked in its European satellites. East German and Hungarian courage against Soviet tanks is well remembered. The Communist hand in the Congo chaos,

and exploitation of it, has been obvious.

We consider it our duty to warn African leadership against communism and its dangers. Communism is subtly trying to penetrate Africa. The infiltration is going on vigorously, and it must be countered now. It must be admitted that, for long, Africa had few encounters with the Communists. It is only natural, therefore, that before we deal with them we must study their history, know their methods, read their language and be prepared to match them. We have had glaring examples of what dangers there could be in dealing with the Communists on the basis of their propaganda, rather than on the basis of what they really are, and what their motives are.

African students who have studied Soviet strategy have seen how it looks only to its own profit and power interests, and that Communist "friendship for Africa" slogans are pure propaganda, lacking sincerity and genuineness. To substantiate this, we refer to what happened between President Nasser of the UAR and Premier Khrushchev when the former refused to toe the Communist line. We refer to the Communist reaction against African students when they refused to sign Moscow's Afro-Asian Solidarity protest, condemning President Nasser. We refer to the refusal of the Soviet authorities to allow African students to demonstrate against the French atom-bomb tests in the Sahara. The Communists refused to allow us to demonstrate because at the time Khrushchev was preparing to visit France to try to split the Western alliance and extort economic and political concessions from France. In all of our home countries, and many other countries of the world, there were protest demonstrations. We could make none in the land of Marxist-Leninist justice—the land of Africa's greatest friends.

There is little doubt that the Communists cherish the disastrous ambition of world conquest. The questions then arise: Shall we allow another partition and domination of Africa by foreign ideologies and interests? For the confidence we need to rebuild Africa, must we be led by philosophies inspired from outside Africa?

One thing is clear—we do not want communism in Africa. We cannot be loyal to any organization that would pervert Africanism. We require the sup-

port of peoples of good will everywhere in our struggle for freedom, for respect and for happiness. We want support for the justness of our cause, however, and not in exchange for subservience. Free African states can pull their resources together to help other African countries in bonds to win their freedom. We do not want another Korea or Vietnam in Africa. We want to constitute a zone of our own influence and culture.

Red Infiltration

We do not want cultural exchanges which permit Communists to make propaganda and cause confusion in other countries, while insulating their people from contact and free information. We strongly oppose staffing African embassies in the Soviet Union with Soviet agents, whereas Soviet embassies do not employ foreigners. Also, Soviets must not be allowed to handle our secret transactions. This calls for immediate coordination and collaboration among African peoples in matters of diplomacy and foreign relations. Training of linguists and diplomats must be accelerated and must proceed forthwith on a large scale. An African School of Law and Diplomacy is now a real necessity.

We are committed to the fight against imperialism and colonialism, but are we going to do it by allowing the Communists to confuse the issue, create more trouble and cause us more bloodshed? Are we winning our freedom to sell it to the strategists in the Kremlin? God forbid.

African leaders will judge for themselves the acceptability of regimes which were born by force and bloodshed and which use force and bloodshed to continue in power. They will weigh the advantages of a system that disregards African philosophy and leadership and that seeks to submerge forever the remains of the sacred heritage of African culture. We reaffirm our faith in African leadership and in the African way of life.

For the Executive Committee of the African Students Union in the USSR:

THEOPHILUS OKONKWO

Nigeria

ANDREW AMAR

Uganda

MICHAEL AYIH

Togo

Frankfurt, Germany

America • DECEMBER 17, 1960

CHARLES E. O'NEILL

Europe Reads About New Orleans

ROME—Mention New Orleans to a European and within a few minutes he will cover three topics. New Orleans—that's where jazz was born, isn't it? New Orleans—do they still speak French there? New Orleans—you have a large number of Negroes there, don't you? What's this all about: segregation and integration? Usually the three questions run in that order, but last week Question Number Three had moved to top position.

A survey of the Western European press during the week of November 13 should give a partial answer to that third question, an answer which concerns not only the Crescent City leaders but also the American people as a whole. We shall see why in a moment.

The news that four Negro children were about to attend two hitherto all-white schools in the Deep South metropolis was first announced as part of a regular newscast

on the Armed Forces Network (Frankfurt)—a fact presented quietly for the record. When the event had taken place, the news account noted with satisfaction that no violence—no new Little Rock—had occurred. In its broadcast to Africa on the morning of November 15, the Voice of America, with its serene, soft-sell style (in contrast to the heavy-hammer Soviet propaganda), told laconically of the changeover.

In the few minutes allotted to him, a radio newscaster could not give the full picture. The press, however, spelled out Monday's events with photos and background. Rome's *Il Popolo*, organ of the Christian Democratic party, headlined its page-9 article with: "Racial Integration Ordered in Louisiana/In Spite of State Governor's Opposition/Some Colored Pupils in White Schools." The reporter placed the event in its context of conflict between State and Federal governments. Recounted in detail, the events of the day included one vivid quotation—that of the mother who would not leave her child with "these dirty Negroes." (There is no Italian equivalent for "nigger.")

Il Quotidiano, the Italian Catholic Action organizations' daily, published the photo of Mayor DeLesseps S. Morrison of New Orleans in Baton Rouge with placard-carriers in the background. The point of the legible posters was "Keep State-Supported Schools Open."

Next day's papers were ready to forget; they felt that,

with the exception of a handful of raucous demonstrators, New Orleans had passed the difficult day with dignity. However, back in the Crescent City, the segregationists had not yet begun to fight. Their initial quiet was due, in large measure, to the prudent secrecy about which schools were to be the theatre of the changeover. By Wednesday the crowd in front of the two schools, the school board offices and City Hall had grown. And with it grew New Orleans' column inches in the papers of Western Europe.

Le Figaro (Paris), which up to now had simply recorded the event, gave the Southern city first-page billing with frightening headlines: "Racial Segregation/Violent Fighting in New Orleans/Policemen and Negroes Lynched/100 Arrested." A photo of the crowd and motorized police accompanied the inner-page write-up

that filled out the page-one headlines: "Some five thousand

teen-agers and their mothers yesterday turned New Orleans into a city in revolution." The "lynching" headline must have been the make-up man's interpretation of the report that "a Negro was stabbed; his life, however does not seem to be in danger." Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas, whose name was spread throughout Europe in 1957, was quoted as comparing the Federal court and judges to Hitler's judges and judicial dictatorship. This last remark could only make a Frenchman smile, and *Le Figaro* knew it.

Le Combat, gaulliste (but that no longer means "de Gaulle's") daily of Paris, entered the lists after explaining Eisenhower's program to halt the gold-and-dollar hemorrhage. In a trenchant paragraph that concluded its U.S. news for the day, the editor wrote: "President-elect Kennedy cannot afford to tolerate such movements [as the New Orleans riots], and there is every reason to hope that he will take steps to deal with the segregationists." Next day *Le Combat* returned to the attack against the "racist riots" in New Orleans: "It is particularly scandalous to learn that of the 250 persons arrested, the majority were Negroes." As a parting shot, the paper quoted Mayor Morrison's appeal, adding, in a caustic aside, that the mayor had asked the New Orleanians to behave "as citizens of a civilized community—a title which yesterday's events belied."

The Catholic daily of Paris, *La Croix*, quoted the *Times Picayune's* editorial appeal for an end to street fighting. The statement of the New Orleans daily that "the battle against integration will not be won in the

FR. O'NEILL, S.J., a native New Orleanian, is doing research on Louisiana history in Rome and Paris archives.

street" served as a springboard for a discussion of the legal steps under way. The race issue in New Orleans was not new to *La Croix*, which has often brought Archbishop Rummel to the attention of its readers.

Serious *Le Monde*, out of step with its fellows, gave the most space to its Washington correspondent's Tuesday analysis of the underlying forces; the Wednesday riots won only a compact three column inches. Correspondent Knecht's analysis pointed out the differences between the procedure of Governor Faubus in 1957 and Gov. Jimmie Davis of Louisiana in 1960. While satisfied that progress toward educational equality was being made, Knecht admitted that further progress would be slow, and accused Mayor Morrison of agreeing to prompt desegregation in return for the Negro vote.

The dignified London *Times* had told on November 16 how the police drove the crowds back and made arrests among the white demonstrators. On Thursday, the paper's usual placidity yielded to jarring headlines on page 12: "Hoses Turned on New Orleans Crowds/Demonstration by White Mothers/Wholesale Arrests." The article that followed read like a 19th-century Colonial Office report on some African hinterland: "The situation in New Orleans became much more ugly today after two days of relatively peaceful integration at two elementary schools." Speaking of the orators at the White Citizens' Council rally, the *Times* quoted Leander Perez's racy remark about rape and the Congolese.

Capable *Il Messaggero* of Rome had included the New Orleans news with other items on Kennedy and the nation's capital. A subheadline on "Violent Racial Demonstrations in New Orleans" caught the eye and led to eight column inches of details on the "*manifestazioni di piazza*"; and the Italian reader could recall his still vivid memory of the July riots in Genoa, the Emilia and Rome. By Friday the *Messaggero* had switched to a direct New Orleans dateline of November 17. That day's article on the "white racists" of "this port city of the Old South" was capped by a bold-faced headline: "Explosive Climate in New Orleans."

Thursday evening's conservative *Giornale d'Italia* spoke in alarming headlines of "Negroes and Whites at Loggerheads in the Streets of New Orleans/Manifestations and Fist-Fights Keep the City in an Uproar." And in the article itself: "A squadron of police on horseback charged to disperse demonstrators, but they regrouped themselves a block or so away." Again one thought of Porta San Paolo and Genoa in July.

November 17's *Il Quotidiano*, right next to a worried article over Ceylon's nationalization of Catholic schools, also expressed concern over the New Orleans school situation. "Absurd Racism in New Orleans" was the headline above a picture of a policeman arresting a white demonstrator. The English of the teletype was still visible to explain that this was the White Citizens' Council rally.

In thirty inches of well-written three-column-wide prose, Milan's *Corriere della Serra*, on page 7, November 17, explained the events and their background, empha-

sizing the "empty schools" abandoned by the white children. Confusing the city police seen in action with the State's, the otherwise well-informed reporter notes that the officers of law and order were "reluctantly" called out by the "racist Governor." Lost on the average reader was the poster which read: "When Will We Be Forced to Marry Negroes?" With significant coincidence the same page carried a photo of Congolese pummeling one of their compatriots because he was not on their side in the Kamitatu affair.

Brussels' traditional *La Libre Belgique* was discreet, though it might have been very caustic with regard to the United States, for Belgians have resented the American role in the Congo problem. I recall that in 1955, when the youthful Baudouin, King of the Belgians, made his triumphal tour of the Congo, *La Libre Belgique* not only reported the cheers and evident popularity of the sovereign, but also called its readers' attention to the beautiful scene of the young king kneeling to receive Communion from the hands of a native Congolese bishop. It so happened that, shortly before, in a small Louisiana country town at a bend in the Mississippi River, white parishioners had kept a Negro priest from saying Mass because they feared their Archbishop was trying to impose a Negro pastor on them. The contrast for *La Libre Belgique*'s readers was striking.

In *Osservatore Romano*'s limited news coverage the date lines seldom stray from national capitals. Nevertheless, the unofficial Vatican City daily did report details of the "Deplorable Incidents in New Orleans."

THE DUTCH Catholic daily *De Tijd* introduced the topic by emphasizing the jeering of bystanders when the four little Negro girls entered the schools. (The Dutch do have an equivalent for vulgar English "nigger" shouted by the demonstrators: "*nikker*," with the same pejorative connotation.) Next day *De Tijd* again placed New Orleans on the first page, and headlined the article "Race Mania in America/Little Negro Girls to School Under Guard/Federal Action Creates Tension in Louisiana." On Friday the troubles returned to center front page with two photos and pregnant headlines: "Unrest in Louisiana/Eisenhower Does Not Intervene/Counter demonstrations by New Orleans Negroes/Kennedy Opinion Sought by Legislature."

Finally, on Monday, November 21, *De Tijd* spelled out the meaning of the week's reports in a front-page photo caption: "Race Mania in the United States." And then below: "In these news reports, white Americans have shown themselves in their most sickening pose, with great detriment to American prestige abroad." Of the non-Communist papers seen, this was perhaps the strongest statement; but unlike the Communist publication, *De Tijd* did not gloat over the prestige loss.

In Germany the *Weltwoche* had gone to press before the riot news arrived. So it was the Soviet Union that bore the ignominy of racial discrimination that week. With photos and a lengthy article the publication in-

formed its readers of the African students who had abandoned scholarships at the new People's Friendship University in Moscow and had written an open letter [see p. 397] condemning Soviet Russia's constant pressure on her guests, Moscow's insulting racial antagonism and Communist colonialism in general. This, of course, was of a piece with the case of the young African student who this summer fled the Soviets' strait-jacket "hospitality" for the freedom to study at Bonn; in Moscow he had suffered racial discrimination as a Negro, and one Muscovite publicly insulted him as "a monkey."

In Germany's North the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* gave page-4 notice of the "Tumults in New Orleans." Its arrest statistics were the same as those of *La Libre Belgique*: 93 persons, including 33 colored. (Paris's *Le Combat* maintained that the majority of those arrested had been Negroes; Rome's Communist *L'Unità* pretended that almost all had been Negroes.)

Southward, the *Schwabmünchen Allgemeine Zeitung* gave daily coverage of the "Negro Breakthrough of Racial Barriers." Acknowledging that many parents kept their children home simply to keep them clear of any possible violence, the paper showed a fairness not often found. Among the arrests recorded in the edition of November 17 was that of a sheriff! In treating of the New Orleans question none of the German papers sampled referred to Hitler's own racism.

The current *Feuerreiter*, an illustrated German weekly, showed up with a photo story of New Orleans and the history of jazz. Here, at least, Question Number One was holding its own. Of the Spanish papers consulted, *La Vanguardia Española* of Barcelona gave the fullest coverage.

The Communist press, which operates outside the pale of honest journalism, deserves separate treatment. As we have seen, the press in each country reported the New Orleans incidents; it did not hide the events—nor its disapproval of racial violence. However, the press did not use the news story as anti-U.S. propaganda. Editors and reporters understood, some more, some less, that our Federal Government was taking decisive action toward a fuller actuation of democratic ideals.

The green-eyed Communist press, however, saw things quite differently. Rome's *L'Unità* began its offensive on November 15 with exclamation-point emphasis on the need of police protection for the Britt-Davis wedding; California, not New Orleans, had top billing. But three days later, when it reported Wednesday's riots, it made the police (who in most of the free press were shown protecting the Negro) the villains. Under "pretext of protection," according to *L'Unità*, the police were supporting the rioters in their attacks on Negroes. Of the 158 arrested, almost all were Negroes. (Strangely enough, the only previous mention of an arrest was of a white demonstrator.)

Then, too, the police became the "American police." They were not identified as city, or even State police; the anti-Negro movement was presented as a national phenomenon. Clichés ran the gamut of the Communist

lexicon: "fanaticism," "Fascist gangs," "hoodlum attacks," and so on—with the police pictured as allies of the Fascists.

In *L'Unità*'s edition of November 20, New Orleans yielded to Tennessee. "Racist Wave in United States Spreading/Landlords Chase Negro Sharecroppers Because They Voted." And the text below read: "The rage of the American racists now knows no limits. While in New Orleans the situation remains most tense. . . ." By facilitating a confusion of Baton Rouge authorities and the national Government (and sentiment), the reader is led to see a growing wave of fascism, not checked, but fostered by American officials and police!

The silence of the Communist press about the African students who left Moscow rather than suffer racial discrimination had struck all perceptive readers. The free press, on the other hand, had condemned both the New Orleans and the Russian incidents. The Communist press distorted the facts, drew conclusions by insinuation and made the events serve purely partisan propaganda. The free press regretted the anti-Negro events, both for the sake of the Negro and for the sake of the United States' reputation. The Red press rejoiced in the same events for the sake of the party.

THE WHITE CITIZENS' COUNCIL often presents integration as a Communist program. (If the Communist party were to come out in favor of monogamy, one wonders if these gentlemen would therefore feel they should adopt the contrary position.) But in fact, communism has failed to touch even one per cent of the American Negro population. W. C. C. spokesmen would be less prompt to make that charge if they reflected that editors of the Communist press would be profoundly disappointed were the Negro to attain full equality. A great source of propaganda would thereby be lost to the party, a bitter setback indeed.

Second, the White Citizens' Council should note that the Communist press rejoiced in the segregationists' activity; even *Pravda*, generally so official and sober, seemed gleeful over the W. C. C.'s activities. The declarations of the Federal judges (native Southerners), the moderation of Mayor Morrison and city officials, the disapproval of the riots by 99 per cent of the white population elicited no cheers from those who live by the party line. To put it bluntly, the White Citizens' Council officials and similar spokesmen are in point of fact the very ones who play the Communist game and feed—albeit unwittingly—the Communist propaganda machine.

Western Europe's feelings were summed up recently by an Italian, a man in his late forties who had had little schooling but is an avid reader. In his savory, far-from-the-city accent he said: "I like you Americans. You're good-natured and easy to get along with. You're not people who put on airs. But there's one thing I don't like: that's the way you treat the Negroes."

CHARLES E. O'NEILL

Mass in the Catacombs

John P. Sisk

I WAS AWARE that something out of the ordinary had been going on in the basement, but was too preoccupied with yard work to pay much attention. Then, as I was adjusting a hose near a broken basement window, I heard a furiously shouted "Oremus!" I went cautiously downstairs and saw my gorgeously vested eight-year-old son midway between the offertory and the elevation, while my two-year-old daughter wandered about the sanctuary nibbling the altar breads. The lusty "Oremus" had apparently been his way of expressing his indignation with her without disrupting the service.

Later, when Mass was over and the celebrant was outside squabbling with his seven-year-old sister, I examined his chapel. It was a gloomy alcove between the dryer and the coalbin. His altar was an old tea table. The altar cloth was made from the sort of petticoat a woman wears, or once wore, under a ball gown; and the ball gown itself—green and gold slipper satin—had been transformed into a chasuble and veils for chalice and tabernacle. Chalice, candle holders and bell were from his mother's brass collection, and the ciborium was the kind of loving cup given to the winner of the ninth flight in an amateur golf tournament. Nearby on a work ledge that served as credence table were a plastic cereal dish, a neatly folded wash cloth and two vinegar cruets.

He might have set himself up in the dining room, but only in the face of certain desecration by his two younger brothers, who, like the unbelieving Romans, had in effect driven him into the catacombs of the basement and to the raucous choir of washer and dryer. And even there—like the early Christians, as I had seen—he was not safe.

Nevertheless, he had made a sacred place, and it reminded me of how passionately we had played Mass when we were children, wrangling over whose turn it was to be priest and pestering my mother to let us have grape juice or at least a little vinegar for our cruets. In those days some parents would not allow their children to play Mass, no doubt convinced that some irreverence was involved. I thought of how easy it is to forget or completely misunderstand the nature of the magical, even sacral, world in which a child lives and of why so much of a child's life is lived in the catacombs. He is driven into them by the profane adult who threatens his sanctities.

A child's world is organized by myth and ritual, and

its myths and ritual repetitions are ways of securing meaning and being in it. In fact, Mircea Eliade's *The Sacred and the Profane*, which details the cosmos of religious man, might be read in part as a description of a child's cosmos. Just as sophisticated, disillusioned profane man rejects the cosmos of religious man, so the adult too often rejects the cosmos of the child. He finds the meanings and the sense of being in that cosmos illusory, however charming and even nostalgically alluring they may be. His moral duty, it seems to him, is to lead the child out of this magically charged fairyland, so that ultimately he will be able to see things as they really are, as Wordsworth puts it, "in the light of common day."

INDEED, Wordsworth gets into this subject as inevitably as Eliade does. His "Ode: Intimations of Immortality From Recollections of Early Childhood" is, to put it in very general terms, about modern man's often half-buried belief that he once possessed, whether in his own childhood or in the childhood of his culture, this sense of living close to being in a sacral universe, and that nothing on this earth will ever quite make up for its loss. This is why that ode is really an elegy. Like much elegy that is concerned with loss that touches one too closely, it is not too convincing in its reconciliation section. It is hard to believe that the poet is as recompensed for his loss as he says he is; the Great Good Time is too irrecoverably behind him. Perhaps one should say that the poem is an elegy striving nobly to be an ode.

In his famous criticism of this poem Coleridge finds parts of it flawed with mental bombast: that is, too heavy a burden of meaning is piled on the child when he is called "best philosopher," "mighty prophet" and "seer blest." But these excesses, along with the myth of pre-existence and the natural priesthood of the child, can be defended as quite appropriate means for projecting the child's sacral cosmos, in contrast with that later one in which custom will lie upon him "with a weight,/Heavy as frost, and deep almost as life!"

Or we might put it another way. The hyperbolic quality of such moments in the poem is the other side of a fear that is more than the fear of death that qualifies all elegy. It is the fear that the poet himself will be overwhelmed by a desacralized view of reality, that in his travel "daily farther from the east" he will arrive in a profane cosmos where, as Eliade puts it and as Coleridge himself was only too painfully aware, "time presents itself as a precarious and evanescent duration,

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leading irremediably to death." The great enemy in the "Ode"—and we owe all the romantics our gratitude for having fought it, however at times misguided or confusedly—is a desacralized, mechanistic view of the universe.

This is still the great enemy and it is interesting to see the extent to which American writers have continued the battle in the tradition of Wordsworth, marshaling their forces behind the child or sensitive adolescent as hero. Remove the Huck Finns, Holden Caulfields, Dove Linkhorns and Aram Garoghlanians from our literature and there is an appalling hole in it. The child or sensitive adolescent, or adult with childlike naïveté (which includes beatniks), is one of the favorite disguises of the American writer. This is not simply because American writers love children, or because they believe that childhood is a happy time (many of the child-heroes live harrowing lives), but because in their passionate and often desperate concern with innocence they need a hero who stands for a sacral view of the cosmos.

The writer in modern times, threatened like the child with a desacralized view of reality, has often had to retreat into his catacombs to protect his sanctities from the profane world. Inevitably, then, much that he writes has a hieroglyphic aspect for the profane world, for the sacral cosmos of the writer is known by signs the profane world has forgotten. Inevitably, too, the profane world often fears and hates the writer, for its "safety" depends upon keeping the writer's sacral world at bay.

I don't mean to imply that the writer himself always understands the hieroglyphics on the walls of his catacombs, or indeed that they are necessarily understandable by anyone; he may simply be confused or insufficiently articulate. And of course he is not necessarily religious in any formally articulated or doctrinal sense. His sacral cosmos may, like Whitman's, be a very undifferentiated thing; his metaphysics, like Shelley's, D. H. Lawrence's or Henry Miller's, may be confused with sex and his sex haunted by Manichean ghosts; the muscle of his reach, like Sherwood Anderson's or Hemingway's, may be weakened by sentimentality; like Hart Crane he may try to substitute a myth of America for religion; like Twain, Nathaniel West or Fitzgerald he may be crippled by an attachment to the profane world. Nevertheless his tendency as literary artist is toward a religious view of the cosmos.

Nor do I mean to suggest, finally, that the concern with the catacombed world of childhood in American literature is a wholly admirable thing simply because its aspiration is to the sacral. Its strengths are mixed with great weaknesses. Art in the catacombs has, like Christianity in the catacombs, all the shortcomings of an emergency situation, in which one's chief concern is holding desperately to what one has with, very possibly, the belief that its present form is a final one. Christianity had to leave the catacombs and enter into a dialogue with the profane world to realize its full potential.

Obviously a culture as complex as ours ought to be able to tolerate, and even benefit from, a certain amount of catacomb literature. A fair amount of the literature of social criticism, for instance, is bound always to have,

as it has always had, an air of the catacomb about it. This is simply to say that, like Walden, it will tend to counter society's excesses with perfectionist demands. Nevertheless, too much of the literature that projects a pastoral and sacral vision of simplicity and innocence is in the catacombs not out of harsh necessity, as the early Christians were, but through a lack of faith in that very vision: as if it were felt to be so radically alien to the profane world that it could not survive in it. The American writer characteristically finds himself in a disastrous dilemma. He is forced to choose between the precarious, unarmored innocence of the child's world and the corrupt, meaningless rat race of the profane adult world. Thus he uses the child-hero, as Salinger does in *Catcher in the Rye*, to define modern man's disjunctive horrors.

Alfred Kazin has made this point about Steinbeck, whose early fiction Kazin sees as having been sustained by the vision of the happy valley of his youth. But once he lost that happy valley he was, like so many American writers, intellectually adrift. "The test of the American writer," says Kazin, "has always been his ability to transcend his youthful ecstasy, to escape from his regional Eden without destroying it." Kazin believes that in order to do this the writer needs to call "on some religious or philosophical tradition older than America itself."

The vision of Eden can be corrupting, and the catacombs can destroy what is kept sacred in them. This paradox is possible because in the modern world it is too hard to stay in one's youthful Eden or in one's sacral catacomb. The danger is to come out with the melodramatic concept of the profane world that life in Eden or the catacombs induces. The conviction that there is an iron curtain between sacral and profane is a preparation for despair, and in literature a preparation for the violence that goes with disillusion and frustration. That is often a confused effort to get back a sacral view of the cosmos.

There is a catacomb quality in Wordsworth's earlier and best work that is inseparable from its strength (the same thing is true of Proust's novels or of Salinger's) and, correspondingly, a dangerously simple disjunction of sacred and profane. Given the strength and virulence of his opposition, this is understandable. But, by the time his view of the cosmos had become less melodramatic, much of the poetic fire had gone out of him. In this respect he suggests so many modern American writers, particularly the older ones—Anderson, Hemingway, Dos Passos, Steinbeck, Sinclair Lewis, men who in their early work displayed a passionate attachment to values that stood sharply against the profane world around them.

But the measuring vision was too simple, too pastoral, as though the writer had determined to view life through a catacomb window, convinced that from any other point of view it would fail to make sense. And so, after early promise, there was soon not much to say that had not already been said better than it was likely to be



said again; or the profane world changed in ways not apparent or understandable from the restricted catacomb view and so much that was said about it ceased to have much relevance; or after a while the writer's energies were not equal to continuing the battle on such extreme terms; or circumstances forced the writer out of his catacomb and he had little left but his nostalgia or his despair.

It is good, however, to begin in a holy place, even if it is a very simple one. Nevertheless, one must not grow

away from it but out of it. To grow away from it is to lose one's sense of the sacredness of the cosmos, to lose one's sense of being, to become finally profane. To grow out of it is to realize in the give-and-take of life the full potential of such an initial if unrefined beginning. And so my son will have to leave his catacomb if he is to learn that his ritual imitation of the Mass is insufficiently distinguished from his ritual imitation of Wyatt Earp—even at the risk of being corrupted by the world of Wyatt Earp.

BOOKS

Biblical Breakthrough and Other Progress

New Testament Reading Guide (Liturgical Press. 14 paperbacks, \$4.20 per set, 30¢ each) has been advertised as "a major breakthrough in Bible popularization." The description is quite accurate.

In the more than 1,300 pages of this strikingly handsome set of booklets the intelligent reader can find practically everything that most priests learn from their seminary courses in Sacred Scripture. In fact, many priests may learn things they had not known, e.g., the latest on the "Two-Source" theory of the Gospels, the "Messianic secret" and the pre-paschal structure of Mark's Gospel, the "pronouncement stories" of Luke, and why it is a mistake to try to force John's Gospel and the others into a harmony.

Fourteen professors of Scripture, all members of the Catholic Biblical Association of America, have provided commentaries that admirably compress whole tracts of information into sentences packed with facts. It is a great achievement that each commentary, running along beneath the Confraternity translation, can be read by itself as a straightforward narrative.

This is top work by top biblical men, but even high school students can follow it. If this point were not stressed, college students and seminarians would probably monopolize the set. It is time, however, that we had something in this country like the Stonyhurst Scripture series used in British schools. We have it here, at a price so low that perhaps now real thought will be given to a first-rate New Testament course for high schools and junior colleges.

Another excellent achievement in popularization is *Seven Books of Wisdom*, by Roland E. Murphy, O.Carm. (Bruce. 163p. \$3.75). For priest and people alike this will be a reliable and enlightening companion for the reading of the Old Testament "wisdom literature"—the Psalms, Job, the Canticle of Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom. Like the literature it describes, Fr. Murphy's book is not meant only for seminarians and scholars but for people everywhere who can "take and read," whether they be old or young. With Fr. Murphy's book in hand, the approach to the sacred literary works is not any more difficult than other literary courses given in the schools. Scholars will recognize throughout the book that the author has made careful study of the various literary types encountered in this biblical material.

Words and Guidance

Those who have some familiarity with the Bible will relish looking through *A Dictionary of Life in Bible Times*, by W. Corswant (Oxford. 308p. \$6.50). The distinguished scholar André Parrot says in the foreword that "there is nothing comparable or equivalent" to this book. Arthur Heathcote's translation (from the French) certainly makes good reading, whether you're looking up crocus, harp, mite or turtle.

Speaking of "turtle" reminds me that a much more satisfying and entertaining article on that topic is to be found in *The Bible Word Book*, by Ronald Bridges and Luther A. Weigle (Nelson. 422p. \$5). This fascinating book

should be in the library of all teachers of English and all who are interested in language. The book goes from "A, an" to "Yourselves" to discuss and explain obsolete or archaic words in the King James Version of the Bible. High literary and historical scholarship is lightened here and there with humor. Articles like the one under "Mansions" give insights into the composition of the Revised Standard Version.

If the reader is in doubt about anything concerning interpretation, literary genres and inspiration, he can find a whole book about each topic in *Guide to the Bible*, by A. Robert, A. Tricot and 29 other eminent French biblical scholars, including Cardinal Tisserant (Desclee, 812p. \$8). This first of two volumes, translated by Edward P. Arbez, S.S., and Martin R. P. Maguire, also contains a 319-page commentary on the books of the Bible. This is a revised, up-to-date and enlarged edition. There are excellent bibliographical footnotes.

Like so many of the books that are coming out now, *Archaeology in the Holy Land*, by Kathleen Kenyon (Praeger. 326p. \$6.95), will be welcomed by professional scholars and general readers. The author, director of the British School of Archeology at Jerusalem, is well known for her excavations at Jericho. The book presents the evidence for the history of Palestine as an archeologist sees it, from the Natufian sickles of Mount Carmel in prehistoric times to post-exilic and pre-Hellenistic bowls and dippers. There are 56 plates and 66 illustrations in the text. In many ways this book is like Paul MacKendrick's *The Mute Stones Speak*, the story of archeology in Italy (Am. 6/25/60, p. 398). No library should be without these two books.

The Treasure of the Copper Scroll, by John Marco Allegro (Doubleday. 191p. \$4.95), is a curious book. Essentially, with its 25 pages of ancient text

and translation followed by detailed commentary, it should be a book for scholars only. The publishers have embellished it with photographs and talk about an "exciting story" of "unusual buried treasure" revealed in the text on rolled-up copper strips that were found in 1952 in a cave at Qumran near the Dead Sea. W. F. Albright considers the treasure imaginary, however, and he finds many "oddities" in Allegro's work. This controversial scholar and his work are best left to experts like Albright.

Current interest in the Essene sect of Qumran has apparently stimulated interest in other sects of biblical times. Just as we are learning more about the Gnostic manuscripts recently discovered in Egypt, a publisher brings out *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten: the Gnostics: A Contribution to the Study of the Origins of Christianity*, by G. R. S. Mead (University Books, 633p. \$10). The same publisher has brought out *The Holy Kabbalah*, by A. E. Waite (636p. \$10), with this subtitle: "A Study of the Secret Tradition in Israel as Unfolded by Sons of the Doctrine for the Benefit and Consolation of the Elect Dispersed Through the Lands and Ages of the Greater Exile." From the same press comes *The Book of the*

Dead: The Hieroglyphic Transcript of the Papyrus of Ani, translated into English with an introduction by E. A. Wallis Budge (704p. \$12.50). Reader, be warned! These books, all by authors dead and gone, have certain value, but only for scholars. The librarian of your alma mater might like to find them under his Christmas tree, if he doesn't have the original editions.

WALTER M. ABBOTT, S.J.

ANDREW JOHNSON: President on Trial
By Milton Lomask. Farrar, Straus & Cudahy. 376p. \$6

One of the most dramatic episodes in American history is the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson. It is not a scene, however, which Americans remember with pride. For whatever else one might assert about President Johnson, he was not guilty of the high crimes and misdemeanors with which he was charged in the articles of impeachment voted by the House of Representatives. Fortunately, he escaped conviction in the Senate, although by the narrow margin of one vote. Such a travesty is not likely to happen again.

This is the familiar story told in an eminently readable way by Mr. Lomask. In recounting the desperate struggle be-

tween the President and the Radical Republicans in Congress for control of reconstruction, the author identifies clearly the conflicting philosophies. Johnson sought restoration first and reconstruction second. His Congressional opponents, on the other hand, were intent on a harsher policy to be formulated and administered by the legislative branch. The character sketches here are vivid and at the same time fair.

In the short run, of course, the Radical Republicans won. The President's vetoes were easily overridden. Long before the impeachment trial he had been defeated. It is the author's contention, however, that in the final analysis, Johnson successfully defended the constitutional prerogatives of the executive department. Indeed, in later years the Supreme Court would sustain his contention that the Tenure of Office Act was unconstitutional.

While one cannot but sympathize with Johnson, in many ways he was his own worst enemy. Stubborn, out of touch with public opinion and unskillful in the art of human relations, he can be criticized justly for plain political ineptitude. At the end even the more moderate Republicans opposed him.

These are factors which might have been emphasized more for a final evalu-

NEWMAN'S last-minute Gift Suggestions

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ation. Although favorable to Johnson, the book is a fair and readable synthesis of primary and authoritative source material.

PAUL T. HEFFRON

THE MASTER BUILDERS

By Peter Blake, Knopf. 399p. \$6.50

The master builders of this book are three modern architects, all of whom are well established in the public eye and world famous. Until recent centuries architects were called master builders; this is the meaning of the Greek derivation of the word "architect."

The three are Charles-Edouard Jeanneret (self-named Le Corbusier), Mies Van Der Rohe and Frank Lloyd Wright. Le Corbusier is a native of Switzerland and has become a French citizen; Mies was born in Germany and is now an American citizen; Wright, who died in 1959, was an American.

These three have been selected from among ten or more eminent architects of various countries who have helped to evolve modern architecture. The author's reason for his selection is that these three "will ultimately appear more important than their contemporaries because they were greater as artists—virtually no modern building constructed today would look the way it does if it had not been for the work of one or more of these three men."

Such work has been influenced by other recent illustrious architects, as the text makes evident. However, the author's admiration leads him unwisely to cast off restraint. He intends this book as a tribute "by one architect whose generation owes everything it knows about architecture to Le Corbusier, Mies and Wright." Other architects of his generation will question his right to speak for the generation.

The treatment of each of the three is similar in form: some biographical data; a list, accompanied by photographs, of their principal buildings; and an account of untoward incidents, opposition and criticism attendant on some of these buildings. (Those opposing are invariably cast as blind reactionaries.) Most of this information about each of the subjects has been available in greater detail in other volumes; this is one of the few books exclusively devoted to the three subjects. A comparison of the respective work is thus facilitated; the reader would have been helped in this comparison had the author taken proper advantage of the educational opportunities inherent in the book's content. Many readers will be disappointed because a basic factor has been neglected:

while being impressed by many of the pictured combinations of forms and materials—novel, original and interesting—they will not readily find in these pages an adequate explanation of why they are considered great architecture.

The author's approach to and treatment of his material indicate that this book is intended to be popular rather than scholarly. Elimination of colloquial expressions and, possibly, of tedious details would have improved the appeal of the text.

LAWRENCE E. MAWN

A PARTRIDGE IN A PEAR TREE: A Celebration for Christmas

Arranged by Neville Braybrooke. Newman Press. 196p. \$4.75

This is one of the most attractive looking books to be published in a long while, and the jacket and decorations by Barbara Jones and the children of the Henry Fawcett School alone make it an ideal Christmas gift. None of the illustrators is over 10 years of age—one is aged 8—and they have caught the spirit of the shepherds and the kings, of the crib and the animals, quite perfectly.

This anthology is a wonderful grab bag reaching from W. H. Auden (*sic*) to Anon (8th century), and from David Daiches and Robert Lowell to John Donne and George Herbert. Catholic, Protestant and Jew are all admirably represented here, and there are "literary" entries: Hugh Walpole spending Christmas in Hollywood in 1935; Henry James finding the "germ" of the *Spoils of Poynton* on Christmas Eve in a pea-souper in London; Walt Whitman writing to his mother of the rich presents he had given; Thomas Carlyle spending Christmas and the two days following "in grim contention" all day with "the most refractory (*sic*) set of proofsheets."

There is also humor: Jenny Simper writes to "The Spectator" around 1690 that the church is so decked with green boughs she cannot roll her eyes at the young baronet any more, and fears to fail in her conquest of him, and Dylan Thomas sings carols outside a large dark house from inside of which a small dry voice joins in his singing—he and his friends don't stop running until they are home.

Perhaps the collection is *too* English—the *Wakefield Shepherds' Play* is really an awful bore, as are Thomas Hardy's *Thieves Who Couldn't Help Sneezing* and the several pages by L. Sten. However, there is something here for everyone, and all and everything is most prettily wrapped.

ANNE FREMANTLE

For Christmas Giving

Here are five books for browsing, pleasantly pictorial, geared to a range of tastes and purses, variously suitable as Christmas gifts.

Historical Decade (1950-1960), with forewords by John F. Kennedy and Henry Cabot Lodge (it was bound to win), is a timely visual roundup. The volume treats of 3,000 subjects in 75,000 words, using 1,000 photographs, and offers a panorama of a decade which yields to few in historic moment. Action pictures of Khrushchev, Faubus and Castro, of J. B., Toscanini and Sputnik, evoke recent memories swiftly flowing into history (Year-News Front, 21 W. 45th St., New York. \$7.95).

Much of the previous decade had been classically chronicled by that master of pen and statecraft, Sir Winston Churchill. The editors of *Life* have now published a condensed version of *The Second World War* in one handsome, abundantly illustrated volume. Suited especially to young readers, it would be no less acceptable to any judicious book-lover (Golden Press. \$7.95).

Turning backward to another World War, we have a somewhat less exhilarating but quite engaging life of Gen. John J. Pershing, hero of another generation: *The Yanks Are Coming*, by the editors of the *Army Times* (Putnam. \$5.95). Not as richly or expensively illustrated as the Churchill volume, this does give a vivid, photographic and nostalgic account of World War I and the new role played by America in world affairs.

Visually the most exciting of these volumes and by the highest standards a worthy addition to the treasury of artistic photography is *Eternal Italy* (Viking. \$10). Granted the known competence of James Reismann and Carlo Levi (photographer and writer), the book could not fail to be masterly. The most photogenic and monumental of lands offers an endless challenge to all artists, but it becomes hard to see Italy freshly. In this volume, while the glory of antiquity is not overlooked, tiresome clichés are eschewed and the stress is on the poetry of the present, Italy's infinitely diverse people.

A concise, popular and responsible contribution to religious understanding is offered in *The Story of American Religions* (Holt, Rinehart & Winston. \$4 regular, \$14.95 de luxe), by Hartzell Spence, in cooperation with the Editors of *Look*. Some six large, double-column pages are given to each of the religious faiths with the largest Amer-

ican membership. The treatments are uniformly frank and sympathetic. This reviewer found the account of Catholicism unobjectionable. It would be hard to treat the complexities of the Church in this country more briefly and objectively. Church-State problems are handled honestly; the Catholic contribution to America is well sketched; the persecution suffered by American Catholics at various periods is not glossed over.

C. J. McNASPY

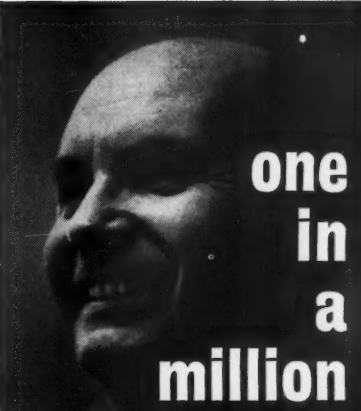
SCIENCE

Hummingbirds

Crawford H. Greenewalt is not only president of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company at a staggering \$600,000 per year; he is also a distinguished amateur ornithologist.

Since 1953 Mr. Greenewalt has lugged 250 pounds of photographic gear more than 100,000 miles in a dedicated effort to make a portrait gallery of hummingbirds in "living color." Sixty-seven plates of 57 species, together with new material on the iridescent coloration and flight techniques of what the naturalist Audubon called a "glittering fragment of the rainbow," form the substance of Greenewalt's 250-page book, *Hummingbirds*, which was issued by Doubleday & Co. during November.

I have not seen Mr. Greenewalt's book, already hailed as a "classic of natural history," because its list price is \$22.50. But happily, the "poor man's Greenewalt" can be found on pages 658-679 of the November issue of the



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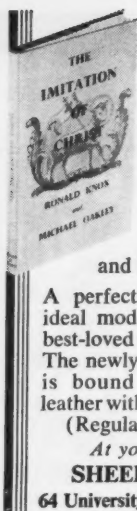
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National Geographic. There you will see not only a summary of Mr. Greenewalt's studies on hummingbirds, but also 23 magnificent color reproductions of his work, some of them photographed at speeds of one 30-millionth of a second.

British and Continental lyric poets, who often pay tribute to the thrush, the skylark, etc., have generally ignored the glittering glory of the hummingbirds. Why? The answer is simple. They were not familiar with these flying sapphires, topazes and amethysts. Hummingbirds are the boast of the Western Hemisphere; they range the mountain and the plain, the forest and the desert, from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego. They are found nowhere else.

This does not mean that hummingbirds are rare. It is true that only one species (the ruby-throat) is found east of the Mississippi, and even in our West there are no more than eleven breeding species. But over their entire range, the suborder of the Trochilidae counts at least 319 species: hummingbirds will be found wherever and whenever flowers bloom in the Western world. If hummingbirds seem rare to us, that is because they are not much given to migration, and most of the species inhabit a band that is five degrees wide on either side of the Equator. The center of the world, from the viewpoint of a hummingbird, lies in Ecuador, which is home for half the known species.

Everybody knows that hummingbirds are tiny. One Cuban species of *zumzum* is only 2¼ inches long. The giant of hummingbirds is the Andean *Gatagona gigas*; its 8½ inches sound impressive until you see how much of it goes into tail and bill, and learn that the whole bird weighs less than an ounce. Our American ruby-throat, in fighting form, weighs in at 150 to the pound. Smallest of the known hummingbirds is the South American *Calliphlox amethystina*, which can balance a dime on the scales but is a lot more colorful.

No description of hummingbirds can overlook the fact that these living gems have an extraordinary power plant that enables them to expand energy faster than any other warm-blooded animal. To hover in the air like a helicopter, a hummingbird must burn up fuel, per unit of weight, ten times faster than a man running nine miles per hour. Even when it sinks into torpor (a state like hibernation) at dusk of a day on which it has not fed well, a hummingbird uses up its reserve energy at the rate of a man taking his morning walk.

Such prodigious living explains why hummingbirds eat 50 to 60 meals a day and take most of their food on board

in the form of sugar (nectar from flowers), which is high in food value and quickly convertible into energy. To absorb enough calories to live the normal life of a hummingbird, a 170-pound man would have to eat 370 pounds of boiled potatoes every day. To hover like a hummingbird, a man would have to perspire at the rate of 100 pounds of water per hour, just to keep his skin temperature below the boiling point of water. That's really living it up!

Some of the most remarkable facts about hummingbirds involve their flight techniques. Some species can beat their wings 80 times a second. All of them have wings that develop power on the upbeat as well as the downbeat. Most remarkable of all, hummingbirds have a "reverse gear" that enables them to fly backward almost as well as they can fly forward.

But not even the hummingbirds have everything! Their legs are so poorly developed that they cannot walk about at all. Worst of all, their spectral beauty is not matched by their vocal performance. Hummingbirds are not songbirds. Mr. Greenewalt found only one species whose operatic capabilities would excite the envy of even the lowly English sparrow.

Lack of a musical repertoire does not lead to neurotic withdrawal in a hummingbird. The little bird is both bold and curious, disdainful of man's presence and extraordinarily pugna-cious. It can afford to manifest these traits because it is faster than a rapier in the face of danger.

Too bad more poets cannot observe the flashing gems whose Indian names signify such things as "tresses of the daystar," and whose scientific nomenclature translates into expressions like "fiery topaz" and "golden torch." But our own priest-poet of the South, John Banister Tabb, who perhaps knew only the ruby-throat, paid it this lovely tribute:

A flash of harmless lightning,

A mist of rainbow dyes,

The burnished sunbeams brighten-
ing,

From flower to flower he flies.

L. C. McHUGH

THEATRE

PERIOD OF ADJUSTMENT, unveiled by Cheryl Crawford at the Helen Hayes, reveals Tennessee Williams in a mellow mood, a welcome departure from his usual absorption in clinical drama. The story begins on Christmas Eve, when

America • DECEMBER 17, 1960

Ralph Bates is alone in his living room except for the presence of an unsympathetic cocker spaniel, contemplating a Christmas tree and the usual toys and presents. The scene, designed and lighted by Jo Mielziner with his usual sensitive feeling for atmosphere, forecasts the mood of the ensuing sweet-and-sour connubial comedy.

Ralph's reflections are interrupted by the intrusion of a wartime buddy and his bride of one day, each of whom tell different versions of why their marriage is a failure. Ralph comforts them with the advice that they are only going through a period of adjustment and have nothing to worry about. His counsel is consoling until the newlyweds discover that Ralph's own marriage, after twelve years, is on the rocks. How long is a period of adjustment? The answer, suggested by common experience, is "until after the golden jubilee."

Leading roles are persuasively rendered by James Daly, Barbara Baxley and Robert Webber, foiled by Rosemary Murphy in serious relief. The comedy was directed by George Roy Hill. Your observer's only censure is that the author is too often indelicate in describing conjugal intimacies and too loquacious. The play is at least ten minutes too long. It is still the most mature and amusing comedy of the season.

HEDDA GABLER, revived at the Fourth Street Theatre by David Ross, is the first production of a cycle of plays by Henrik Ibsen. The title character is a spoiled brat, who at the age of thirty has not learned the world was not created for her personal happiness. In resentment, she becomes a neurotic and ruthless she-wolf bent on destroying what she cannot have.

Anne Meacham, in her portrayal of Hedda, renders the role with the glacial air of a vixen stalking her victims, including herself. Miss Meacham is supported by too many capable performers to be mentioned here. Directed by Mr. Ross, the drama is beautifully performed down to the slightest gesture. Mr. Ibsen must be happy up there.

ROSEMARY, at the York Playhouse, sponsored by Roger L. Stevens, is a comedy that serves as a curtain raiser for *The Alligators*, a tense gangster-type melodrama. Both are one-act plays and both were authored by Molly Kazan. Together, they make the crosstown trek to the York well worth the effort.

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off. While still hoarse from cheering Elizabeth Seal for her enthusiasm in *Irma La Douce*, reviewers had to raise their voices again in praising the exuberance of Tammy Grimes in *Molly Brown*. It's an alarming drain on a reviewer's supply of adjectives.

The longer and better written play at the York, *The Alligators*, is at best a mediocre melodrama. But when Jo Van Fleet, an old pro, takes hold of the central role, the thing becomes exciting and significant. Your observer refrains from saying Miss Van Fleet's performance is the best of the season, as he may see another best performance next week. Let's say she's grand, and settle for that.

The playbill says the plays were directed by Gerald Freedman and the scenery was designed by Fred Voelpel. When Miss Van Fleet is on stage, who cares?

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

THE WORD

Through Him, and with Him, and in Him, is to You, God the Father almighty, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all honor and glory, forever and ever. Amen (The conclusion of the Canon of the Mass).

Beginning with what we now call the Preface, the Canon of the Mass is a single, sublime prayer which accompanies and expresses the essential sacrificial act. Now, as the Canon draws to a close, the liturgy prescribes a ritual action of particular antiquity and a verbal formula of special solemnity.

The action is known as the Little Elevation. Taking the consecrated Host between thumb and forefinger of his right hand, the priest five times makes the sign of the cross with the Host: thrice over the uncovered chalice, twice between himself and the chalice. Then, holding the Host over the mouth of the cup, with his left hand he lifts the chalice slightly from the square of linen (corporal) on which it stands.

Unobtrusive as this ceremony is, we have here the remnant of the one Elevation in the earliest Mass ritual. What is now our Elevation was introduced only in the Middle Ages. It must be admitted that when the Canon is regarded properly as a single, prolonged, Eucharistic prayer, the showing of the sacred species to the people comes aptly at the end of that prayer and immediately before the Eucharistic banquet. Since, in modern usage, the priest says Mass facing away from the congregation, this

Little Elevation will inevitably be obscured, and the laity must be alert if they are not to miss a significant action.

The words which accompany the Little Elevation are solemn. They constitute the majestic doxology or formula of praise which is the ritual conclusion of the Canon of the Mass: *Per Ipsum et cum Ipso et in Ipso*. The first preposition expresses the mediation of Christ our Redeemer and everlasting High Priest; the second declares our union with Him; the third, introducing a favorite Pauline phrase, suggests the doctrinal reality that is the Mystical Body.

The layman at Mass may not be able to see the Little Elevation, but as he reads in his missal these measured words, he may take them to heart and plant them in his mind as the epitome of his whole Christian life. The man who professes belief in and claims to follow the program of Christ is called upon to live *through Him and with Him and in Him*.

No one should grow either disheartened or cynical because there are any number of Christian men who are unimpressed with this lofty religious formula, just as they are uninspired by any high religious ideal. We need only recall our Saviour's realistic comments on the many who are called and the few who are chosen, His somewhat grim parables of the tares in the wheat field and the mixed and mixed-up catch of fish. All this must not dim our realization that a vast and devoted army of men and women who believe in Christ do most genuinely and in the most practical manner wish to live *through Him and with Him and in Him*. Both religiously and otherwise, good and brave people do not wear their hearts on their sleeves.

The major doxology that we know is, of course, the Gloria in the Mass, as the most familiar doxology is our "Glory be to the Father." Here, at the Little Elevation, is the splendid doxology which forms the peroration of the Canon of the Mass. The complete Trinitarian formula is present, and we reverently pray that to the Three Persons who are one God may be rendered *all honor and glory, forever and ever*.

Ideally, the *Amen* at the end of the Canon ought to be pronounced by all the people. In one of our earliest sources for the Mass liturgy we read that at the end of what we now call the Canon "the people give their consent by saying: 'Amen.'" Perhaps someday this admirable custom and cry of holy faith and unity will be restored. Meanwhile, let all in their hearts, as the sacred, sacrificial act, the renewal of Calvary, ends, "give their consent by saying: 'Amen.'"
VINCENT P. MCCORRY, S.J.

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